1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

[821] tonwood is coming up; we are going to have buds now." Kutox also referred to it as xaraðo', "cold," and implied that it made its appearance in cold weather. The star was a Yavapai: "that is why the Yavapai can stand cold better than anyone else." Yet he stated that it made its appearance in the morning in autumn: he must have meant evening, either he or I being in error.

The North Star was known to my informants only by the [177] Spanish name *capitan*, used locally to mean "chief." They knew it was immobile.

Ursa Major was known as xŏtâluwe' yĭtavĭ'tc, "Coyote's net"; a group of seven stars.

[773] The sky looks like a sea. Some people were fishing by the sea. Coyote had a net of his own, which he held by one end. Fishes were leaping to the east of the net, which moves counterclockwise [around the North Star. The constellation must be thought of as near the zenith.] He heard them splashing to the west of the net, and, being afraid of missing them, he turned around. That formed the bend in the line of stars [the handle of the Dipper].

A constellation mani'c, "scorpion," was "directly overhead." It looks like a scorpion with its tail to the west. It was described as an arc of little stars facing the east, terminating at each end in two stars: a group of six stars lies west of the center of the arc; still farther west are three dim stars, and beyond, one alone.[9]

My informants did not know of any constellation called "buzzard," the Luiseño-Diegueño name for Altair. Nor did they recognize Cassiopeia or the Gemini from description.

The evening star was called "the star that travels through the sun," xomâce' ĭnyă'mkwa'm. There was no associated tale.

The morning star (xomâce' kovâtai'â, "big star") was the old woman of the Flute Lure tale who took her station in the sky.

[773] Then the old woman said she was going to change herself into the bright morning star. "Since I am an old woman, when an old person is dying, they will say he will be dead when the first morning star appears." (When an old person is dying, [763] he always says, "I am not going to die until the morning star appears.")

● [787] People who dreamed of this star became brave, killed enemies.

The hero of the same tale, this woman's grandson, Kwiya'-

[114] [9] A statement recorded in Culin (*Games*, p. 202) identifies Orion with Mountain Sheep, Pleiades with Gopher, and notes the Scorpion as described here. The nformation seems, however, to be Pima as well as Maricopa in source.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

homar[4], became a comet (xŏmceaŕŏsŏ'p).[10] Its appearance betokened the death of a prominent person or a general disaster. A variant of this segment of the tale, given in this connection, was as follows: 821 [787]

An old woman started from the north with her grandson. When they had gone halfway, they said, "We have no home to go to. It would not be right for us to go to live with somebody else." As they stood thinking what to do, the little boy said, "I shall be a comet. People shall never see me except at the time a well-known person is going to die." He also said, "If they should happen to see a streak across the northern sky, people will know there is going to be sickness all over the world." As he said this, he changed himself into a comet. We see this once in a while. [773]

Eclipses were called ĭnyacâpu'i, "the sun dies," and xălăcâpu'i, "the moon dies." No reason was assigned for the phenomena and there were no observances when they occurred. "We don't do anything [for the lunar eclipse], because they say it is the white man who uses his own trick on the moon." One eclipse of the sun was recalled, dating to possibly ninety years ago:[11]

An old man told Kutox that when he [the old man] was a baby his mother was gathering mesquite beans at midday, when the sun was totally eclipsed. It was dark everywhere; the birds began to chirp and one could see the stars. The sun soon came back. They did nothing about it. [173]

An earthquake (mat[4]hĕ'nk, "earth shakes") was not considered significant. The reason assigned for quakes was that when the twin culture heroes died after the creation, they went back to lie under the earth; now when they are tired, they yawn and stretch, causing the earth to shake. 823

Kutox remembered an earthquake when he was twelve years old (about 1859–60) and another fourteen years after they moved to Laveen from Sacate (about 1884). The annals above mention an earthquake in 1887–88.[12] [173]

Thunder and lightning were two anthropomorphic beings in the sky. They had no names (the natural phenomena were re- 821

[10] Definitely not a meteor.

[11] Possibly the solar eclipse of November 30, 1834, but the season as indicated by gathering mesquite is wrong (Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*).

[12] The 1884 and 1887 earthquakes are probably the same, i.e., that of May 3, 1887, unless the earlier was the slight quake of July 6, 1886 (Heck, *Earthquake History*, pp. 51, 54).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL RELATIONS

CHIEFTAINSHIP AND MEETINGS

619 [171] National solidarity was strong among the Maricopa. This is the same sentiment recorded for other Yuman tribes of western Arizona and which sets them off so markedly from Californian peoples. The Maricopa constantly referred to themselves as a single homogeneous people, all participating equally in their group life and all united against their enemies. This despite the fact that their settlements were sprawling agglomerations of households spread over a considerable area.

[643] The solidarity expressed itself in at least three ways. There was but one chief for the whole tribe so far as is known. Men of prominence might be found in the several villages but they had no formal status as chiefs. Again, there were no internecine [628] feuds. In all the long discussions with informants, there was never so much as a hint of conflict between families or villages. And [701] further, in warfare they presented a united front against their enemies, whether in attack or defense. Minor raids took place, to [726] be sure, but what stands out in their minds are the massed battles in which a large proportion of their able-bodied men took part. This attitude of the Maricopa seems to have been duplicated among the tribes now resident with the Maricopa when in their original homes on the Colorado, although here our data are so slight as to be inconclusive. But once the remnants of these [563] tribes had been incorporated in the Maricopa community, they felt themselves completely identified with their Maricopa hosts as forming one coherent whole.

643 124 ● 787 Both Maricopa and Halchidhoma had chiefs whose position was hereditary and functions vague. It proved difficult to get adequate information about them. Dreamers (shamans and others) were mentioned frequently and voluntarily; specific ques-

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwamai

tioning had to be directed to chieftainship with but unsatisfactory results. It would seem that others were at least equally prominent socially: shamans, song and dance leaders, the directors of funerals and mourning ceremonies, custodians of scalps, war leaders, orators, etc. All or most of them had the prestige that derived from dreaming the powers that entitled them to their positions. In a society that put a premium on dream-sanctions, it is intelligible why the chief, whose functions were of little moment, should receive slight attention.

There seems to have been but one chief at a time in each of the tribes. The difficulty is that our information relates to the period of joint community of Maricopa, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai. The groups were then impoverished in numbers and lived in mixed and scattered settlements interdigitated with Pima. There is also a question how far the chief's prestige or the office itself was due to recognition by Mexican authorities.

At the Sacate settlement when Kutox was a boy, about 1855, the Pima, Halchidhoma, and Kohuana had each their own chief. Sumîl,a'm, "down-feathers travelling," was the Kohuana chief. He was entering old age at the time, and while he might have been chief when they came from the Colorado (1838–39), Kutox was uncertain.[1] At about the same time Malai', a man of like age, was chief of the Halchidhoma, then a group of perhaps twenty families. He may have been appointed by the Mexicans when they were in Mexico twenty years before. Kutox did not know whether, in an earlier period, there had been more than one Maricopa or Halchidhoma chief at a time. It seems unlikely: since he could remember the ancestry of chiefs of his day, he should have known of plural chiefs in earlier times. Last Star declared emphatically that the Maricopa had but one chief at a time.

The Maricopa tribal chief was in reality the chief of the strongest village. Other villages lacked chiefs: "they came to that place when they wanted to find out anything." Practically he was chosen by the people of his village: they simply came to him for advice and to have him address them, until he came to be recognized as chief. In native theory, however, he dreamed his position. Last Star was not certain what spirit was the subject

[1] Papago-foot, mentioned by Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) on Mohave authority as Kohuana chief about 1883, was, according to Kutox, not a chief but a respected old man. Last Star thought he may have been given a trial as chief, but could not have held the position for any great time.

Last Star was not sure what spirit was the subject
643 of a chief's dreams, but presumed it must have been the mocking
787 bird, because anyone who desired to become an orator dreamed
825 of this bird.

His successor was his son or other close relative in the patrilineal line. The rule was not absolute but dependent on the competence or willingness of the logical successor. Normally the inheritor was a son (not of necessity the eldest son) because it was assumed that "the son had been instructed by his father, but they would pass over an incompetent son for a close relative on the father's side." The successor's competence was taken as a sign that he, in his turn, had had the requisite dreams. In default of a qualified son, the dead chief's brother or brother's son was chosen. The transmission was through the chief's sister only if she had sons while his brother had none. No woman could inherit the position. In the case cited below, the succession was to a filial grandson because the daughter could not hold office.

173 The first Maricopa chief who could be recalled by Kutox was
643 killed by the Mohave at Sacate. "He had wanted his sister's sons [*sic*] to be chief in his place, but they [the sons or the people?] refused." Then the people chose his eldest son, but he too refused; the chieftaincy going to his second son Xan,igwacxa'm[4], "frog beater." The latter was killed in battle in Yuma territory before Kutox was born (1847). He had a sister who had no son but a daughter. The son of this daughter was chosen chief. This man was Charlie Redbird's father. Charlie would now be chief if they had one. Last Star knew nothing of earlier chiefs, but thought the transmission was from an unnamed chief[2] through his daughter to Charlie Redbird's father. He is probably correct, but in
613 either case the principle is the same; that transmission was always through the paternal lineage though not of necessity through males. It is obvious that the chieftaincy did not remain in a single sib.[3]

769 [2] Here occurred an instance of the emphatic refusal to name the dead, perhaps because Last Star was talking of his wife's ancestors (his wife being Charlie Redbird's sister) in the presence of Charlie's wife.

[3] The Mohave cited to Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) the name of the Maricopa chief at the time of the Kohuana adhesion (1838) as Aha-kurrauva, and about

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

bris thrown inside by children, for they were not forbidden to play there. The fire was kept blazing during the meeting with the door closed, so that they would sweat. A pile of wood was stacked within the doorway on the south side for the convenience of the fire tender (autuxa'k), an old man who alone had the duty of feeding the fire.

As evening came on, the chief would stand in the open to call the men to the meeting: "they might have something to discuss." He advised them to bring enough tobacco, so that the unprovided would not lack it. Meetings always began by smoking privately, not passing their lighted cigarettes around. Two or three were selected to do all the talking (whether orators who had dreamed or others is not clear). In the early evening they discussed "things like crops." Toward the middle of the night arrangements would be made for hunting. Warfare was discussed. (Young men were not supposed to go off on unauthorized raids, but if they did, they were nevertheless praised.) Talking would continue until the appearance of the morning star, which was taken as the signal to break up. They did not think it proper to leave early in the night: if topics were exhausted they sang until this star rose. No one was allowed to sleep, because the older men were delivering admonitions and advice to their juniors; telling them not to gamble, to treat their wives well, not to beg even though starving, not to be lazy, and the like. Anyone who slept was sent out. There were no guards at the door.

Such formal division of the night was a characteristic Maricopa pattern. Not only did it appear in the framework of dreamed experiences with spirits, but their actual sleeping habits were made to conform. Children were kept awake during the first part of the night and roused early before dawn to avoid dreaming during these ill-starred quarters of the night. Shamans, at least when working over a dying patient, abruptly changed their songs with the passage of the night's divisions. The night was supposed to be divided into quarters, but none of the experiences and practices cited to me conformed literally to this fourfold pattern. Here the meeting is described as of three parts: indifferent evening, deep night with its more serious problems, and

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

the wiping out of isolated enemy families discovered in the mountain caves.

Two quite different modes of warfare were adopted. Against the Yuma and Mohave, the Maricopa followed the Colorado River custom of formally arranging pitched battles. These were preceded by challengers who first pranced up and down shouting insults at their opponents, until they clashed in single combat, followed by a general mêlée in which foemen stood against each other until they were clubbed down. Against the Yavapai, tactics were wholly different. While they still went *en masse*, it was rather in the nature of a foray, a quick blow and a speedy return, resting largely on their ability as bowmen.

Winter was thought the best time to go to war, especially on nights that were stormy. The enemy would think it too cold to leave their houses and would feel safe indoors. This was also the time that the Maricopa expected raids. On stormy nights, cold and windy, when enemies were thought to be about, everyone in the community gathered for security to sleep in the meeting house. It was on such nights that sentries (matŏ'au'm, "standing by himself") were posted. They went around the settlement at a distance, but built no deceptive fires as Russell records for the Pima.[8] Stockades were unknown to informants, although they are reputed to have existed in this area.

A shaman was called on at such gatherings to use his clairvoyant power to find if the enemy were approaching (see p. 292). He invoked the attendance of the spirits of the mountains by sucking up four piles of dirt. The mountains were thought to enter one by one and divulge the whereabouts and intentions of the enemy through the shaman's interpreter.[9]

However strongly they may have felt that winter was the proper time for warfare, the intoxication of the sahuaro drink roused them to frenzy for war at the time of the sahuaro celebration (June). "When they drank this they thought of war." The song peculiar to the celebration tells of "red water," i.e., blood, its appearance and "how it is made": that the enemy has come

[8] *Pima I[illegible]s*, p. 201.

[9] Mount[illegible]as champions of the several tribes are described on p. 253.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

714 their lariats as tight as possible; for the double purpose, I suppose, of bracing their bodies, and of protecting their vital parts from arrows. Those who possessed neither [trade] shirts nor blankets, remained as nature made them, with the addition of a little paint. On their head dresses, they had all bestowed more attention than on their bodies. Some had them plastered with clay, so as to resemble huge turbans. Others had decorated the great club of hair which hung down their backs with bits of scarlet cloth, but more of them with the richly-figured sashes or belts of their own manufacture. Some again wore their hair in braids tastefully wound around their heads, intermingled with pieces of scarlet cloth; while a few, less particular as to their appearance, wore it clubbed up in a huge mass."[11]

701 War parties comprised relatively large bodies of men, at least against the Yuma, although fewer may have participated against the Yavapai. Kutox persistently mentioned two hundred as the number in a party: while this need not be taken literally, it does indicate the order of their numbers. This is in striking contrast [171] to the handful of raiders which the mountain tribes of Arizona mustered at any one time, and indicates clearly that warfare was a national affair of the sort carried on by the lower Colorado tribes. The contrast with the mountain tribes is not one of rela- [161] tive populations because the Maricopa were not very numerous in the second quarter of the last century, the period to which our data relate.

The organization of the parties was simple. There was a battle leader, one or two individuals who bore feathered pikes (the "battle standards" of the Yuma), several champions, and shamans who used their clairvoyant abilities to seek out the enemy and who tended the wounded. All these men had their functions [787] by reason of special powers they had dreamed. Not one of them was more than a leader: they were not officers to issue orders. It seems reasonably clear that the tribal chief was not ordinarily war leader. Yet one at least among those is known to tradition as a warrior (p. 157).

701 There was but one battle leader at a time among the Maricopa. 787 He was the only man who had the requisite dreams of war, and when he died, another dreamed in his stead. The dreams dwelt on surmounting dangers and killing the enemy. In his dreams he saw clouds of little flies (called kumanyihwi') fighting in the air,

[11] *Personal Narrative*, II, 216.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

and by their actions he learned how to make successful issue of the battle. He dreamed only that he would be successful. His personal preparation was like that of all shamans: a series of dreams in which the spirits initiated him in the mysteries of his art until they were satisfied that he was fully prepared. There is a cactus more thorny than cholla, called ʻxu'l. He dreamed he saw these fighting in the form of humans. When they saw he was fitted for his position, these spirits took him into a large cave, the hollow interior of a mountain located in the enemy country. As he entered he saw a club, a shield, and a pike hanging on the wall. Each time he was taken there, they gave him the opportunity to learn the use of one of these until he was proficient with all. Then he was ready to lead in battle. His song first described the morning star (xomâce' kovâtai'ʻ, "big star"), which in some undefined way is connected with war. Just what was his function in battle was not ascertained. The last of such leaders among the Maricopa was named ka'ʻkaiʻdo'.

The bearer of the feathered pike was a functionary known alike to Maricopa and Halchidhoma, and was represented among other lower Colorado tribes. He assumed no-flight obligations which placed him in the forefront of battle and in that sense was a war leader. But while Forde describes the pike of the Yuma as a battle standard sometimes planted in the ground and about which the forces rallied,[11] my informants explicitly and repeatedly denied this function among the Gila River tribes. The pike was carried by a man selected as the best warrior; quite infrequently two men had them. He used it as his weapon, supplemented by a club, and carried no shield. He was not the war captain, nor a dreamer. Carrying it entailed what was practically a no-flight obligation: the bearer must go always forward, never retreat. He was credited with fearlessness: even though his companions retreated, he rushed forward into the enemy's midst, to seize them by the hair and club them to death. Black paint covered his body and was drawn in a band across his eyes. His bangs were daubed red. At his death the pike was destroyed with the remainder of his personal possessions.

[11] Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 167, 265.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

The songs may not have been peculiar to this occasion. Informants mentioned vuspo", "deserted," ce, "buzzard," and vitani'c, "mountain killdeer," which were sung at other times as well. The Maricopa had pipa', "people," for both war and scalp dances; the Halchidhoma, hwiclvau', "enemy standing." Ivâđo' was named as peculiarly appropriate: the song of a stinging insect living by the rivers. But these three may also have been used at other times.

Pipa' told how the enemy fled for refuge and how they were found and brought as captives. It told ironically how, instead of being badly treated, they were well cared for; how a captive's father shed tears, not in sorrow, but for joy. Hwiclvau', "standing up an enemy," told how a father acted when one of his family was taken prisoner or killed.

The dance forms varied with the songs. For Buzzard, there were two opposing rows of men and women alternately, who moved backward and forward together. Anyone, young or old, took part. In the middle of one row was the singer flanked by a man on each side, all three provided with rattles. Killdeer had also a definite dance form, or more than one, but it does not seem that the description fits the war dance performance (p. 231). Deserted and Ivâđo' were songs without dancing: for the first, men and women remained seated, beating time with sticks on baskets; for Ivâđo', they simply sat in rings.

It was assumed that before the war party set out, the shaman who was to accompany them had dreamed of their success. As they neared the enemy he exercised his clairvoyant power in the manner described below (p. 176) to reveal the location of the enemy. This was less necessary in the case of the Yuma, who lived in the open valley, than the Yavapai, who lay scattered among the mountains.

Four set speeches were always delivered to the out-bound warriors by one who had dreamed of the mocking bird. These were known as xwimtcâkwe'x^{a}, "enemy speech." In content, if not in form, they were highly formalized. The first speech, delivered the night before they set out, encouraged them to go. It told that they would go together and help one another. The next night, when they had stopped to rest, the orator would tell how

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

Maricopa
Halchidhoma

Kohuana
Halyikwamai

the Yuma sent a messenger to the approaching Maricopa asking them to fight only with clubs, to which the latter agreed. He conducted them across the Colorado to where the Yuma waited.[17] As the contenders drew near, marching as compact groups, they halted, scratched a line on the ground, and stood along it facing each other.[18] Champions now sprang forward on each side to hurl insulting challenges at their opponents, until they had worked to the pitch of clashing in single combat. As soon as it appeared one of the champions was about to be bested, the whole body rushed forward in the wake of the victor. They met breast to breast in the mêlée, whacking away until their opponents were annihilated or broke and ran.[19] As soon as the battle was joined, there was no skirmishing, no flights of arrows; it was simple beating down of the foe with staves or short clubs. Mohave, Yuma, and Maricopa accounts all agree that of the several hundred engaged on each side not more than a handful of the vanquished, a half-dozen or a score, were left after the battle. It does not seem possible, that, as tradition relates, this type of warfare could have gone on from time immemorial. All of the nations alike would sooner or later have been reduced in numbers or wholly exterminated. That this actually happened in the case of the Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai must mean that they always met overwhelming odds.

The challengers, who may not have been the actual champions, had their ability by reason of having dreamed of the mocking bird, that is, they were speechmakers. They marched along the long line drawn before their party, shouting insults at their opponents, whirling their bows in the air or dragging them with one end bouncing on the ground to make them dance up and down. Their performance duplicated their dream experience. The line represented a mountain, the long Sierra Estrella. They, like the mocking bird spirit of their dreams who led them the

[17] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 40.

[18] This is reminiscent of the Hopi in 1540, who stood on such a line to face Coronado's soldiers (Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, p. 488).

[19] The whole affair is reflected in the pseudo-historic tale of the Dog Champion (p. 396).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

length of the sierra, went shouting the whole distance without taking a breath.[25] Other dreamers too assumed this part, like the man who dreamed of his dog as a champion.[26] The verbal interchange at the time the Yuma and Mohave descended on the Maricopa in 1857 is characteristic.

> The Yuma boasted they had been to the Cocopa three days before and killed everyone there.[27] They said they had come to stay a few weeks and marry [to trifle with?] some girls. The Halchidhoma champion replied, "When a girl wants to marry, she goes somewhere to stay a few weeks. So I think you came because we are handsome men. We will keep you three or four weeks, and if we do not like you, we will turn you away." Each side was implying that their opponents were women. When the Maricopa champion marched up and down, he said he had always been successful in battle; he would annihilate the whole Yuma tribe even though he die in the attempt. He was actually killed in the fight.

While the line that was drawn may have been a mark beyond which the enemy were dared to come, it was thought of as a mountain magically raised to give protection. The same device was used to impede runners in intertribal races (p. 335). When the Halchidhoma and Maricopa were surrounded by the Yuma in the latter's territory, they drew a circle around themselves.

How far the combat was a formal game is evidenced by their attitude toward the surviving enemy. When a single foe remained ("a very fierce fighter") they did not think it fair for all to attack together. They surrounded him; then one would go forward alone. When the enemy shot, the attacker parried the arrow with his shield, or, watching carefully, jumped aside. As this man marched deliberately forward, he began to count slowly, meaning that he would kill the enemy before he had counted four. "He always killed the enemy before he reached the fourth count."

A man who attacked a single foeman like this was one who had dreamed of it. He dreamed that as he approached some fierce animals (bears or mountain lions), they suddenly became quiet, so that he could reach them. So it would be with the enemy. If, on the contrary, he had dreamed the animals chased him, he would fail in this single combat. As usual, the Maricopa thought

[25] See p. 247. [26] P. 396.

[27] Cf. Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 745, 751.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

that success or failure must have been prefigured in a dream: "he did not tell his dream before he began, but might tell it much later when describing his battles."

The tactics of the Maricopa differed somewhat from their river foes. They made some use of cavalry, but wholly ineffectually. Their mounted men were elderly individuals and boys who went behind the footmen to encourage them and to charge. But the narratives relate how they sat their horses waiting for the outcome and charged through the mass, comprised of friend and foe together, depending on the weight of their steeds rather than any finesse of their arms. They too went down under the flailing clubs or were dragged from their seats to be butchered.

It is also astonishing that the Maricopa were backward in adopting the long staves which gave their Yuma opponents so much advantage. Beyond providing themselves at the last moment with poles, as the narratives relate, they depended wholly on their short clubs. This is intelligible if it meant learning definite procedure in fencing and parrying with these pole-length clubs, like the quarter-staff play of English yeomen, but there is no hint of such stereotyped handling of the weapons from Yuma sources.[2] My account also states that Yuma women and lads similarly armed gave support to their men, but it is noteworthy that nothing of the sort is said about the Maricopa when the Yuma and Mohave attacked them. What may have been a counter attempt of the Yuma to adopt Maricopa methods is implied in my Halchidhoma informant's statement that when the Yuma came in 1857, they did not use staves but their bows (and short clubs?) alone.

Not all conflicts with the Yuma were pitched battles. Occasionally a small body of raiders would visit the Yuma villages to do what damage they could (see p. 46).

Elementary strategy was sometimes employed. The warriors might be divided into three or four groups to approach the enemy village from as many directions. Then, when the enemy came out to attack the first party discovered, the others would rush the village.

[2] Cf. Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 170.

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1933) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

173
726 Once when the Maricopa went to attack a Yuma village situated opposite the present town of Yuma, they were discovered while still on the east bank. They arranged for a few men to go forward openly toward the village. The Yuma crossed the river and pursued this small body. When they had been drawn some distance from the village, the main body of Maricopa, who had remained hidden in the brush, then rushed to attack the pursuers from the rear. The women in the village shouted warnings to their men. When the Yuma heard this, they turned back to meet the second body. But the Yuma were surrounded and nearly annihilated. Those who escaped discarded their bows and plunged into the Colorado despite its high banks. The Maricopa did not attack the village on the farther bank.

•[787] It was held that such strategies must have been dreamed by the leader. "If he was successful, he must have dreamed it."

[773] From the time of the creation, people quarreled.[24] So the Mohave took the Yuma on their side to help in their fights as children do. Our people [Halchidhoma] did the same: they took the Walapai and Mission Indians [Cahuilla] on their side. When the creator died, people scattered, but they still had those enmities. That was how the Yuma and Maricopa came to fight.

The Maricopa started to war with the Yuma [possibly in 1838]. They reached the Colorado late in the afternoon. Two or three Yuma, who were fishing at a little stream, saw the Maricopa approaching. These men told them to stop and go home, else they would be annihilated. Even the bravest warriors declared that they should return, since the Yuma already knew of their coming. Some of our people urged the older men to fight. They took willow limbs and beat them to force them to do it. They had not yet decided whether to go on, when two Yuma came up carrying a Maricopa scalp. They bore it on a long pole, dancing up and down on the bank. Then one elderly Maricopa declared the scalp was that of his brother. He said that even though he went alone, he was going to fight the Yuma. So all declared they would fight on account of the scalp. These were the best warriors we ever had. All said they would fight because if they retreated it would be to their shame.

They started westward across the Colorado. The Yuma had long poles for clubs, a little above their heads in length. Every man, woman, and child had such a staff. Before the Maricopa crossed, they saw the Yuma carrying torches; going off to collect their forces. This continued all night. Toward morning the Maricopa knew the Yuma had all collected opposite. They knew they would be killed, but determined nevertheless to fight them. Better to kill an enemy and be killed in turn than to return without fighting.

Where they crossed the river were some Yavapai armed with bows on the bank in front of the Yuma. A great many of our best men were shot as they were crossing.

[24] These narratives were given by Kutox, the Halchidhoma informant. Another is recorded on p. 245. For Mohave and Yuma accounts of the affair of 1857, see Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 753; Gifford, *Yuma Dreams*, p. 63; Ives, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West*, p. 45; *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1857*, p. 300; see also Cremony, *Life among the Apaches*, p. 148; Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 46 *et supra*.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

175 Bartlett saw a party set out against the enemy north of the Salt River in July
726 1852. "Their arms were solely the bow and arrow: most of them had a skin quiv-
er hung across their backs; though a few carried their arrows in their girdles."
[411] And in speaking of Pima-Maricopa armament in general, he wrote, "The only weapon used by these tribes is the bow and arrow. The short club of the Yumas and the long lance of the Apaches I never saw among them. The constant use of this weapon has rendered them excellent marksmen. Even the boys are very expert in the use of it."[25]

726 Moving northward toward the mountains, they would start out slowly and camp hidden in the thickets of the Salt River bottom. During the night the journey was resumed, bringing them near the enemy toward dawn. There they would rest all day. Late in the afternoon they moved to the actual attack. Only a
[262] little ground parched wheat was carried for provisions. Rabbits might be killed on the way; these were roasted if it was safe.

726 A clairvoyant was always included in the party; one who had
787 dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote. While they were resting in the mountains, an older man would ask him to locate the enemy. Everyone must be quiet: the horsemen would lead their horses aside. The clairvoyant, standing beside a fire in the center of the
[276] circle of seated men, proceeded to smoke four cigarettes. By the time he had finished smoking the first, he thought he was lifted off the ground a little. With the second and third, he was still higher, and when the fourth was finished, he dropped as though dead. After a few minutes he sat up. The man who had requested his aid now lit a cigarette to give him. The clairvoyant would then tell how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain to reveal the location and numbers of the enemy; had told him from which direction to approach, how easily he would find and kill them. The warriors then set off, led by this man.

726 When they reached the enemy, all rushed forward to see who would kill the first enemy. If the enemy were surprised asleep, everyone in the camp was killed, three or four families. They did not look on a slain enemy's face any more than was necessary.
727 As soon as they knew he was dead, they faced toward home, with their backs turned to the corpse and to the mountains, which were also conceived as enemies.[26] Apparently they were quite

[25] *Personal Narrative*, II, 217, 237.

[26] See p. 253.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Yuma; Maricopa
Mohave; Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

satisfied with the killing and scalping of a single enemy. They preferred, if possible, to scalp their victim alive: together they rushed the man selected, sat on him, and cut away the scalp. It was sometimes taken from the dead, but "they do not call that a brave deed." Immediately it was thrown into the air and allowed to fall to earth. (It was not kicked in Yuma fashion and the singing and dancing which Cocopa and Yuma indulge in at this point were absent.)

As soon as they were ready to return one of the younger lads was dispatched with the news, whereupon everyone gathered at the meeting house to await them. Some of the old people might join in expressing their happiness by such songs as Ivaδo' and Mountain Killdeer.

Only a man who had dreamed of it could scalp, hence the taking of a single scalp was sufficient to establish the fulfillment of his dream. His dreams were of winning battles against fearful animals. If he had not the requisite dream, no man, no matter how brave, would take a scalp. There was a saying that if he had not dreamed but forced himself to take a scalp, the dead enemy would grin, so that he would flee in fear. Scalps were exceptionally dangerous: they caused paralysis unless those that took them or handled them underwent the purification described below.

The scalps taken were those with long fine hair: not all the slain were scalped. They took the whole skin of the upper half of the head cut away just below [*sic*] the eyes and above the ears. (The scalp was hieˈδauˈg, "hair taken.") Sometimes the ears were taken separately, but not the whole head nor other parts of the body.

Dead foemen were eaten by the Yavapai, according to Kutox; a practice quite willingly corroborated by Mr. E. W. Gifford's Southeastern Yavapai informant[27] and recorded by Dr. Kroeber for the more northerly Yavapai. The Maricopa and Halchidhoma never did (nor, according to Kutox's knowledge, the Yuma and Mohave), not so much because of repugnance as because

[27] Who, however, accused the Maricopa of the practice (Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 186).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Plateau Yumans NT14
Yavapai

they feared it would cripple the eater. The enemy were believed "diseased": scalps, captives, and those who had taken or slain an [783] enemy, all had to undergo a lengthy purification.

Two accounts of the practice which may refer to the same case were obtained from Kutox. Once before he was born some Halchidhoma from the Maricopa Wells district were on their way to the Kaveltcadom at Gila Bend. (This places the incident between 1835 and 1845.) Just west of the Sierra Estrella they were surrounded by Yavapai and Apache, who killed all twenty, carrying off a woman and her child. They took them northward to the mountains, where they cooked and ate the child. Kutox has seen the place. All their allies were invited to this. In the early evening they made the woman and the little girl dance. They then dug a long pit in which they burned logs until reduced to coals, on which they roasted a deer. They dragged the screaming girl away from her mother, and held her down on the coals until she died. Then each ate a piece of deer flesh and that of the girl. The woman later escaped and returned home.

Four women went to gather mesquite. One, who was somewhat apart from the others, had a girl of seven with her. The Yavapai caught these two and hurried them off to the mountains. They called all men and women together and danced beside a big fire. When the fire had burned down, they threw the little girl on the ashes and roasted her alive. The woman lived with the Yavapai for some time before she had an opportunity to run away. She said they had forcibly made her eat part of the girl's flesh.

Shamans also accompanied war parties to heal the wounded. These were not general practitioners, but those who had the proper dreams for wounds (p. 287).

Those who were killed in enemy territory were cremated on the spot if possible. The pyre was quietly built at night and as soon as well ablaze they left the spot. No attempt was made to carry the ashes home.

On one occasion the Maricopa went to fight west of or below Fort McDowell. The war leader chose a number of men to accompany him. A scout sent forward was seen by the enemy. Almost caught, he abandoned his horse and fled to warn the approaching Maricopa. These returned south of the Salt River, where they camped. In the evening the leader spoke, expressing his disappointment that his plan had miscarried, but saying they would try again. He argued that since the Yavapai had taken the horse, they would feast on it through the night. Perhaps they could be attacked when they finally fell asleep. At midnight the Maricopa again moved close to the Yavapai encampment and sent a spy ahead. He found that the Yavapai had feasted on the horse and, near morning, reported them asleep. The Maricopa then attacked and killed all the enemy. Since this event the locality has been known as xukâvi'k tatâpoi'ic, "the returning and killing."

Kutox's account of his own experience about 1865 also illustrates the character of this fighting with the mountain tribes.

A hundred Pima and as many Maricopa were given guns by the soldiers and

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana

Singing alone comprised the night performance within the meeting house, where the scalp had been set on a short post just within the doorway. (The Maricopa never danced in this house.) The old women joined the men in singing on this occasion, although normally they never attended formal gatherings in the meeting house. The singers used rattles or beat and scraped on overturned baskets by way of accompaniment as the songs dictated. The singing continued throughout the night.

There seem to have been no songs peculiar to the scalp dance with the possible exception of hwĭcĭvau', "enemy standing," and tuxa'ʀᴬ, "pasted, sealed." The former bore a name identical with that of the whole performance; the latter was said never to have been sung for mere amusement. But these songs, like pipa' (people), kapĕ'ṭ (turtle), and cĭmâʊulyᴬ (red ants) were sung at both preparatory and victory dances. Hwĭcĭvau' was said to be Halchidhoma, kapĕ'ṭ Kohuana, and the three others Maricopa. All were sung at the joint performances of the mixed community. Tuxa'ʀᴬ and hwĭcĭvau' had rattle accompaniments. The singer of the last-named dreamed of the enemy teaching him the song. The song related how the enemy treated prisoners and how appalling the enemy thought it that one of them lost his scalp. It also told of insects fighting among themselves.

The scalp now went into the permanent keeping of its elderly custodian, who placed it with others collected in the past in a special receptacle in the meeting house. Each morning before dawn for four days he bathed, washed the scalp, and replaced it. The receptacle (called 'ie'rhĭl,atca'vĭs, "hair container") was especially made for the purpose: a large undecorated pot, nearly globular, with a small mouth and no neck, covered with a clay plate. For these four days he slept alone in the meeting house, lying on the south side with the pot to the east near his head. No one else dared sleep there for fear of the scalps. The keeper would hear the scalps talking together in the pot; would hear them go outside to play, open the door, and re-enter the pot. He would sometimes announce, "Something is going to happen to our people, because I heard the scalps laughing and having a good time"; laughing because a Maricopa was going to be killed or die at home.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwami

727 But if an enemy was doomed, he would hear the scalps weeping.
[787] Why he slept with them is not clear: "they put the pot at the
[753] old man's head because if it was elsewhere, the scalps might act as enemies and make him sick." The jar containing these trophies remained permanently in this spot, although he no longer slept with it.

535 The scalp dance might be repeated at any time, presumably
727 as much for entertainment as for any other reason, taking exactly the same form. At their request the old man would bring out the scalps, wash and dress the hair; and again bathe and sleep with them for four days. They never asked directly but said, "Dress up our visitors and let them visit us."

727 Scalps were never used to bring rain nor to cure the sickness
[171] they caused, as by the Pima,[32] nor were they carried to war in Yuma fashion.

THE SIB SYSTEM

614 The Maricopa and the allied Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai shared a single system of sibs (clans) of the type established for other lower Colorado Yumans by Kroeber.[33] These were patrilinear, definitely named groups, strictly exogamous, and "totemic." They not only bore names the same as or
[553] analogous to those on the lower Colorado, but these tribes shared the peculiar habit of naming women of the sib for the totems in an indirect fashion. Further, the sib system was definitely integrated with the calendar of months and hence with the economic round. There was no suggestion of localization of the sibs.

614 On the other hand, the system had no relation whatever to
771 their religious life. Yet this would have been quite possible. The
787 basis of Maricopa religion was dream experience with spirit birds
825 and animals. The spirit dreamed of might well have been one of the totems of the dreamer, yet such was not the case. There is not a single instance of this, and it was quite remote from their minds that one should dream of his totem.

[32] Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 461.

[33] *Handbook*, p. 741.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

wanyuwa'n, "hanging in bunches," having reference to the clusters of mesquite beans on the trees. Somewhat less commonly children were nicknamed for physical peculiarities or habits, and still other names were of random origin and meaningless, or at least the reason for their use was not obvious to others nor generally known.

A small boy, W——, received his name from an old man, who said he dreamed he was in the desert where he saw a group of men seated in a circle. There was a little boy coming alone in the desert. They selected a name for him. They turned around and called him munyoi'xaxdĭt, "tarantula's backbone." The old man was anxious to see who the little boy was: when the boy drew near, he saw it was W——.

Such names of girls persisted through life. Sometimes they came to be known only by the names of their sibs, since it was the custom for the husband's relatives to call the wife in this fashion. Men, however, usually acquired a new name at marriage, the childhood name either being dropped or falling into secondary use. The man's new name was a nickname, said to be applied to him by his mother-in-law, but perhaps more commonly given by his friends who then declared his wife's mother had so styled him. This nickname was a derisive reference to his appearance, likened him to any ugly animal, or to his habits. For instance, one man was called *Prescott*—matkâvĭ'chwatcĭpŏ'mihwu', "the Prescott train's smokestack-nose." Doubtlessly such names frequently had gross sexual reference, but I was not told so.

The names of the dead and of the living were equally tabu and emphatically so. Kinship terms were used for reference, or some indirect description. Kinsmen were never addressed by name; it was thought horrible even to call a brother by his name. Even my interpreter, an emancipated woman, invariably avoided using names and, on that account, was sometimes unintelligible. Yet, while they were very uneasy at hearing their names mentioned, they had no hesitation whatever in naming themselves. There is no analogue to the Pima rule that boys and girls must not utter their own names.[45] The tabu was hardly slighter for the living than the dead, where it was intense. Yet they did not

[45] *Ibid.*

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

The levirate was compulsory; the sororate common but not wholly obligatory. The levirate was compulsory, I was told, because the woman was a member of her husband's family and they did not want to give her up. It made no difference whether or not she had borne him children. If her deceased husband had no brother (there was no rule of junior or senior levirate), she must marry one of his relatives, sometimes her father-in-law. More commonly it was his father's brother's son or his brother's son (but not his sister's son); that is, someone of his family and sib. If the brother already had a family, she commonly married the parallel cousin. She might not like the brother and might marry outside the family, but this was regarded as disobedience of her obligation: she was willful like a child. 587

The sororate was customary rather than obligatory. When the wife died, her mother supplied in her place a sister of the dead woman (almost inevitably a younger sister) or some other relative of her own family. This might be her mother's sister's daughter, but not her mother's brother's daughter, nor any feminine relative of the father-in-law. In this case the second spouse was not of necessity of the same sib as the first, but it exactly parallels the case of the levirate where the substitute husband is by male linkage a member of the deceased husband's father's family, not his mother's. If the younger sister did not like the widower, she need not marry him. In earlier times a man did not marry his mother-in-law, but there is at present a case of this.

A few widows and widowers remarried only a few months after the death of their spouses, but it was usual to wait a year or two. Some never married again. [589]

Plural marriages were not common. Some men had three or four wives. "Yet such a man would nevertheless go starving all day long!" each of his wives thinking the others had provided for him. He was not necessarily a handsome man; it happened rather because he had dreamed of the mocking-bird. He seemed handsome in his dream. He dreamed of the orange-winged blackbird and the mocking-bird(?), who are friends and always in pursuit of women. They have a big house so full of wives that they 595 787

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

595 have to build another to hold them; blackbird's wives in one,
[787] mocking-bird's in the other. When he saw this in a dream he acquired two or three wives.[39]

When he married the first time, he brought his wife to his home. Later at a dance or a meeting, he might decide to speak to another. When the girl's parents discovered this, they might make her marry him. When he married a third time, they might think the third wife should stay at her own home, where he joined her. A man might keep all his wives in a single house, or they might remain with their parents. But he did not build a separate residence for each.

Plural marriages were sometimes with sisters, but not often. In response to specific questions concerning Navaho and Miwok types of marriage, I was told that a man sometimes married a woman and her adult daughter by another marriage, or a woman and her brother's daughter, but that neither was a regular form of marriage. There was no set preference for marrying wives related to each other, but there was some feeling that sisters would get along together better than non-relatives. Polyandry was unknown.

192 The following words describe the married state: matâtcu'ig, married; sin,âð'kâðau'g, having a wife; taxavi'g, having two wives (from ɣavi'k, two); sin,âð'kĭcᵃðа', plural wives (i.e. more than two).

586 Separation and divorce may have been fairly frequent. In-
606 compatibility, infidelity, and barrenness were named as causes.
593 They held that ordinarily a bride could get on with her husband's family if she remembered what she had been taught by her parents: to be industrious, to avoid quarrels and to be unselfish. If a man beat his wife, her parents would have nothing to say: she belonged to him. Even if he wanted to kill her, he could do as he pleased. This sounds much like Moslem despotism and theoretically it was, but actually, it seems, no man would have thought of unrestrained tyranny. The reaction to a wife's infidelity belies the theory.

593 If a man found his wife in adultery, he would say calmly
837

[39] See the tale, p. 405.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

THE DREAM EXPERIENCE AND SPIRITS

171 ●787 At the heart of Maricopa culture was the dream experience. It was the one thing of which they constantly talked, the significant aspect of their life as they saw it. It is this more than any other single element that establishes the unity of their culture with that of the lower Colorado Yumans, and this holds equally for the other, originally Colorado peoples among them, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai, so far as one can now judge. At the same time, the Maricopa emphasis on experiences with particular spirits seems more like the generalized North American relation with guardian spirits than does the Mohave, with its myth framework in the phrasing of the dream.

787 554 828 Dream experience was at the bottom of all success in life, and as such their constant preoccupation. Learning was displaced by dreaming, and while it was recognized that an individual acquired skill by practice or imitated songs on hearing others, his activity or knowledge would be neither wholly successful nor significant unless he had dreamed. A single statement of Last Star's epitomizes their attitude: "Everyone who is prosperous or successful must have dreamed of something. It is not because he is a good worker that he is prosperous, but because he dreamed." All songs and song performances were revealed in dreams and their content was the dream experience; on the experience was based the conceiving of children, oratorical power, curing, bewitching, and shamanistic feats; clairvoyance and prowess in war, and the ability to lead in war or to serve as chief. In short, all special abilities were to be had by dreaming, and by dreaming alone.

774 787 [196] Supernatural power came only in dreams and almost always involuntarily. Dream and spirit were called by a single word,

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

câma'g. As Mrs. Redbird put it when asked for the word for spirit, "The only way to express 'spirit' is that it comes in dreams." The word gwĭstama'tc, "one who has power," i.e., one who has dreamed, seems based on the same stem. The core of the concept seems to be that what we are here calling spirit and dream were shadowy doubles of the same thing, namely, the experience with spirits in dreams. Asked to explain how the spirits entered into dreams, Kutox gave a halting explanation. "Here is my shadow. Now the Owl somewhere sends his spirit to meet others. We call that hucamai'ĭg. If I am asleep here, there is my shadow. If the spirits wanted to talk to me, they would take me out, that is, that part of me something like my shadow." The word hucamai'ĭg was then rendered "shadows meeting each other," but it is palpably based on câma'g, "dream," not on matkwĭca', "shadow" (of a man, animal, or object), "reflection" (as in water). At another time he said that "a dreamer's shadow (matkwĭca') has the experience with the spirit birds, not his soul (wipai')." This is unsatisfactory: it is at once too vague and too much objectified. The difficulty seems to be that the Maricopa were not interested in sharply crystallizing the concept. So far as I can see it sums up in this fashion: what we are here calling a spirit has no existence or at least never manifests itself except in dreams: the dream is not as we would say a phantasy based on a particular physiological state, but is a state in which some spiritual quality of the dreamer goes out to meet the spirit: in other words, it is the dream experience which is at once the dream and the spirit.

The same concept and stem appeared in the words lucky, câma'sàxωtk (lit. "dream good"), and unlucky, câma'mŭk. These were explained as derived from the quality of one's dreams, which in turn depended on the time of night one dreamed. "To be lucky is to dream good. In the early evening one has bad dreams," and again "before dawn, when the spirit birds are fighting and eating each other, what with all their bloodstains, if one dreams of this he will get sick." Lucky dreams came in the middle of the night (see p. 248). On the other hand, some expressions for having power were based on another stem:

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

787 [196] gwĭdĭcəĭ'sk, "they have power"; gwĭsĭəi'k, "one has power"; gwĭsiə́e', "shaman."

In native theory dreaming was almost wholly unpremeditated. Quite rarely a man visited certain caves in which the spirits were known to dwell in order to induce dreams of them. But there was no such thing as deliberately going out to seek a vision (as distinguished from a dream). In fact, the only vision in a waking state known to my informants (that of the war tale below) came as involuntarily as the usual power-bestowing dream.

463 787 75 Dreams, by reason of their involuntary character, might come to anyone, but the evidence is that relatively few had dreams bestowing songs or the ability to cure, or to foretell or bewitch. Men shamans numbered only five or six at a time and those who bewitched even fewer. There is some question whether women were ever shamans. Similarly, singers, who had their gift by dreaming and were men alone, were a handful, orators even fewer, and there was but one war leader and one chief. The impression was that those who had power never numbered more than a score in the whole community. This does not mean that the rank and file did not have dreams of the same stereotyped sort, since, [753] for instance, falling ill was commonly attributed to dreaming of the dead or of certain plants, and children were born as the result of dreams, but their dreams did not result in power or song. [842] There was a saying that a handsome individual never dreamed of spirits. That, explained Kutox, my informant, accounted for himself!

Professional segmentation among those having power was marked. These individuals were set off from one another by the possession of discrete powers from particular spirits. Thus, Coyote and Buzzard gave power to cure, Eagle power to sing, Mocking Bird to orate, Frog to bewitch. [776] The differentiation was not a quantitative one in the sense of some having more power, of having dreamed of more spirits, although this may have been true of shamans who cured. Dreaming of various spirits very probably occurred, as suggested by the fact that a single individual did dream more than one song cycle. Against this particularism in professional activity is the fact that while Buzzard,

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

for instance, gave the ability to cure wounds caused by the Yavapai, he also gave clairvoyant power to discover the enemy's whereabouts. Further, it is not certain that shamans who cured and those who bewitched were different individuals. An explicit statement affirms that they were, but to the contrary is the fact that shamans who failed of a cure were accused of witchcraft. Perhaps the test would be if the word for curing shaman (gwisiθe') was also applied to the witch: I do not know. There was at least an overlapping of powers in that both shamans and song leaders dreamed songs, the shamans sometimes singing for entertainment like song leaders.

Ordinarily the dream first came in early childhood, but it could be had by an adult. At any rate, it is clear that it was not connected in any way with puberty. The spirit visitation recurred to the dreamer over a long period. Further properties of curing were revealed; he was trained as orator or warrior, or more of the song was given him. During this time he must reveal his dream to no one. Not until the spirits pronounced his preparation complete could he use the powers they granted; otherwise they were angered and withdrew their gifts. The following statements of informants will illustrated these points.

Any man, even a child, might be asleep. Some bird or animal likes his ways and takes him way up in his dream. A child would not speak of his dream until he was a man. He dreams repeatedly of the same bird. When the bird has shown him everything, he tells the lad to begin singing and curing. The lad would then be in his late twenties.

A man started dreaming when he was a child if the spirit liked him. When he began to get gray, he realized what he had been taught and then began to cure.

A man returning from hunting, tired, might lie down to dream that some bird comes to him and sings. When he gets home he may dream again that the bird comes and takes him to a mountain where there is singing and dancing. Men do not tell what happens on these occasions. Such a man always wants to sleep so as to dream again as quickly as possible. Even if they are off to war, when it is dangerous to sleep, such a man persists. Then they know he is dreaming of these things. They would ask him but he would not tell. He dreams he is taken off into the mountains and shown the enemy. One does not tell of his dreams until he is turning gray. Then he tells just a little, but he never tells what kind of bird it was.

Men would not tell plainly of what animal or other spirit they had dreamed. They did not name it in the song but would nickname it and hint at its behavior; then people would understand. Nothing was worn to show what it might be.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

787 The incipient stages of dreaming in childhood, the setting from which the significant dream might mature are revealed by two anecdotes.

When W—— was but a few years old, he was followed everywhere by his pack of pups. He said he could understand what dogs said. When one was barking in the distance, he said, "He is telling us to come: he knows where there is meat hidden." Or "He is telling us that he is being beaten. He says, 'My master is not kind to me.'" The old people said he must have been dreaming of dogs.

The important point here is that the elders were implying that this precocity could be turned to account in later life by assuming that the boy's course of dreaming had already begun. The other anecdote shows a course of dreaming well begun in a lad of about sixteen. The setting of the dream is modern, but its repetitive form is of the old type.

A boy kept repeating certain words to himself, "Children of Castovia."[1] He said he could not get them out of his mind. He always dreamed he was going along a wide straight road, with nothing but right hand turns; at each turn was a sign "Children of Castovia." He said he reached the place (directed by these sign posts): it was a big house, full of children, with this sign on the door.

428 787 Inheritance of power, so far as it occurred at all, also revolved about such incipient stages of dreaming in childhood, but the powers were not used until the heir was adult and until the death of the parent.

A father who had dreamed songs would tell his child as soon as he was old enough to understand, how he came to see these things and how to go about seeing them. Then when the child grew to be a man, he always took after his father, that is, always after the father died.

A case in point, cited below, is the attempt of a son to take over the Mountain Killdeer songs of his father by dreaming of this spirit after his father's death. A specific case of inheritance was that of xatisa'lâ, the Halchidhoma chief, who dreamed the songs Deserted (vŭspo') and Enemy Standing (hwĭcĭvau'). His son, who was not chief, was known as the dreamer of the Deer song. All that seems to be inherited in this case was the tendency to dream. I do not know of any connection between these songs.

[1] This was said to be meaningless by the narrator of the anecdote, but it is palpable he was repeating the slogan of a common patent-medicine advertisement tacked up at every fence-corner.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

Inasmuch as it was said that "there was one war leader [at a time]; when he died another took his place at dreaming," the suggestion is that, in general, the normal course was for a successor to dream the specific powers. This was specifically the case with chieftainship: the dead chief's successor (normally his son) dreamed the necessary oratorical powers. From this point of view, filial inheritance is to be regarded as only a special case. Certainly filial inheritance was not stressed. My informants repeatedly referred to shamans and singer without remarking that their fathers had had these capacities before them.

Both the progressive change in the character of the songs as they were learned in dreams and their withdrawal by the spirits because they were sung before the revelation was completed are exemplified by the following account.

A man sang the Mountain Killdeer songs [when young]. He would sit in broad daylight working on the cotton he was going to weave and still hear the bird's songs. He could hear them just as though a person was sitting beside him singing. He sang that he was taken by this little bird during the night to the bird's home at vikwâme' [the Mohave sacred mountain], where he was taught the songs by the bird. Mountain Killdeer had sung these songs to him for more than a year. He called it vitaxi'c n,Imsa'vâ, "white mountain killdeer." Then he went to Mountain Killdeer again, who now sang to him that his songs had turned black, meaning that he did not like this man because he had sung too early. The man told this, singing:

avinyaya'ka he is going	mavinyaya'ka
vîtaxi'cvas mountain killdeer	kwinyamusa'vic twilight
amicova'xâ song	matiṇinyamviyak dark going

He sang this song at gatherings.[2] He no longer mentioned "white" in his songs. He would tell how the bird had said that he, the young man, had had his songs taken back. The old people said he would die young: he did.

The son of this man said it was queer that he did not dream of this, get it, after his father died, because this usually happened to a child. Then he did dream of it twice. He dreamed he was taken to a butte near Tempe and then to another. When he woke late he told his grown daughters. He then dreamed again that the person [spirit] appeared to him and was angry because he had told too soon. The person said, "I will never take you again." To make him forget what he had

[2] The method of singing and the associated dance are described elsewhere (pp. 231–33, 266).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15 Maricopa

787 learned, the person then smeared ashes over the man's lips, and, turning his back
[533] on him, struck him on the mouth, taking away the song. He told his daughters it was taken away because he talked too much. He was a notorious chatterer.

787 While it was decidedly advantageous for one to begin dream-
831 ing while still a child, there was real danger in overdoing it, in dreaming too much. A boy or girl "who dreamed too much of any one thing" would suffer a change of sex. "They had, in fact, too much of this dreaming; that is why they changed their mode of life. The change was caused by some spirit." Transvestites were never shamans; although they had been given the power
[838] to cure and sing, they had been given too much. The other spirits might interfere, taking the boy and changing him into a woman. Sex changed at puberty, "about the time the voice
[881] changed."

On the other hand, the same informant ascribed the trans-
787 formation to a dream of a specific type. It was believed the
823 Sierra Estrella had a berdache living inside, hence the name of
838 the mountain, 'vial,xa", "berdache mountain." "Any man who dreams of this will become a berdache." Another mountain at Yuma, called by the same name, also had the power to transform men. "As one sees them in dreams, the two mountains are young girls." The Sierra Estrella invited the mountain at Yuma to play games. If the Yuma mountain, e.g., lost, then the Yuma lost a man; he became a berdache. ("But to us as we now look at it, we would never think it could do this.")

The signs of transformation came early in childhood; which corroborates the statements that all courses of dreaming began at that time.

838 When a boy begins to toddle, they would not think of letting him run around
[868] without bow and arrow, nor a little girl without a basket to use like her mother. But if the boy was going to become a berdache (ll,axai': cf. cll,axai'g, "girlish," macaxai, "girl"), he threw away his bow and took a basket or continually used a metate. Older people would comment, "He is going to turn out to be a berdache"; by his actions, they knew he would change sex.

If they did not wish to embarrass transvestites by calling them ll,axai', the word yĕsa'a'n, "barren man or woman," was used.

568 Such transformations were rare. Kutox remembered but one berdache in his
838 day and another in the previous generation, with not more than one transformed woman at a time. Berdaches behaved like women; gathering mesquite, etc. They always went about with women, not with men. They married men and had

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

no children of their own. Men approved, "treated them like girls," but the women were uneasy of them. Women who passed for men (kwīaxamā', which cannot be etymologized) dressed like men and married women. There was no ceremony at the transformation as among the Mohave. 838 588

Since all success depended on dreaming, it must have been frequent in adult life. In fact, the evidence is that the interpretation of dreams was a relatively common topic for discussion among friends. For instance, a significant dream came to a man or woman before they had intercourse; by it they knew whether they would have children. A man might dream that he was gathering little birds or puppies, dream that he was fond of them; that was a sign that he would have children. A woman might equally have such a dream. The dream did not give power to conceive: it was merely a forecast. Only in this sense, said informants, could it be said that a man knew the woman would conceive before she did.[3] Or on telling a dream, someone would interpret it: "That is a sign that you are not going to have a child." This type of dreaming had no special designation. 787 [521] [892]

Similarly a man who had dreamed of marching up to fierce animals, who suddenly became quiet, could in the same manner march up to and kill a foeman.

Beside spontaneous dreaming, there was the possibility of inducing dreams which would yield occult power by taking jimsonweed. While under its influence, a man dreamed that the birds sang to him and told what he should do. Some days later he began to sing, having gotten power to cure. Such a person would not live long, they believed. For other persons the reactions to the narcotic were interpreted differently: their actions while under its influence foretold their future. If a man "was interested in fishing," he might jump into the river fully-clad, 276 787 828

[3] Of the Yuma, Forde writes: "Actual conception is known to the man before it is to the woman. . . . . To him, it is believed, comes the power to create the child. Conception can only occur when the man has received this power of which he should normally dream beforehand. Without this sense of spiritual exaltation intercourse cannot be fruitful, and he is immediately aware if he has achieved impregnation. The woman, for her part, can also resist conception by merely refusing to desire a child" (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 158; cf. p. 159). Perhaps; but I suggest that his informant meant no more than the Maricopa forecast. [114]

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

and snatch up bits of wood and stones under the impression they were fish. If he was to be a great warrior, he seized a stick and brandished it, whacking away on a stump. It is not wholly clear that this typifying activity was thought different in nature from the induced dream. A statement suggests otherwise: "they dream how to become good hunters of a particular animal, as jackrabbits, cottontails, deer, or mountain sheep."

Jimsonweed (*Datura*, cmalgapi't, "deaf ear") was used by any man; usually younger men and boys. The inner portion of the root was chewed and swallowed, a decoction of the mashed leaves was drunk, or the latter rubbed on the body. The part of the plant from which the roots or leaves were taken was not prescribed. "They do not eat much: too much will kill them. It makes them crazy: they will not come close to a person, but sneak away." Beyond the fact that young people took the drug, inquiry failed to reveal any specific parallels to the toloache rite of southern California. Nor were thieves detected under its influence as at Zuñi.

A deliberate quest for dreams, like the vision-quest of northern and eastern Indians, was rare. My informant knew of only two places, two caves, to which one went to get in touch with the spirits. The first cave, on the western (?) side of the Painted Rock Mountains, was the home of a spirit named kukupu'ʀâ (hence the mountains were called his house, kukupu'ʀniva). The nature of this spirit was unknown. One can barely creep through the entrance to this cave; far inside is a large room, and the cave extends indefinitely beyond. "Whenever a man wished to be rich or to become a shaman, or have crops prosper, be a good runner, or have many girls about him," he sat in this room facing the opening and holding his right hand out. He prayed for what he desired. Then he heard something coming from the rear of the cave: there was a great draught and the sound of a whirlwind. The spirit put something very cold in the man's hand. He clenched his fist tight and crept out. When he reached home, he avoided fats and salt, "fasting" for four days, and bathing each morning. "Then his wish came true." If the seeker fled from the cave in fear, he would become blind and perhaps insane.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

A second cave, also difficult of access, was halfway up the eastern face of a little butte south of Tempe: called kumpa'n, ĭkn,iva', "Bat's house." "There must be a spirit there, the bat." Lying in the cave were stubs of reed cigarettes of varying length, some old, some new, each was plugged with a wad of cotton and contained a white powder which could be smoked.[4] Most men dared not touch these, but if a man smoked one, he would either die right there or dream of something to become a shaman. (An instance in which this was done by Papago Foot is cited below.) There was also thought to be a gourd rattle in the dirt of the cave floor. But no ordinary man could find it; only an especially favored shaman, one who dreamed of the spirit. He would replace it where he found it.

Visions (as distinguished from dreams) were not had by the Maricopa. The only instance of a vision experience was recounted in a war tale, which follows. Here the spirit birds act as they do in dreams, condescend to pity the visionary and give him ability to perform an otherwise impossible feat. But the vision does not take the stereotyped form of the dream experience.

This happened to a Maricopa who was born two months after the stars fell [1833] and who died just over a year ago. He went to fight the Yuma when he was fifteen years old (1848–49). He never said whether he had had any dreams of these birds before this experience.

He started with his father and his father's younger brother. All three rode horses. There were more than one hundred on foot and as many horsemen. When they crossed the Colorado, he was told they would let the footmen go ahead because they were armed with clubs. The whole Yuma tribe gathered clustered into a space of three acres. There were women and children fighting on the Yuma side. When there were only forty or fifty Maricopa left, surrounded by Yuma, the waiting horsemen decided to charge. They were armed, some with bows, some with clubs. The Yuma beat some down, dragged them off their horses and killed them. This man did not know how he ever got through the crowd without being hurt. Only a few horsemen were left, but they decided to charge back through the Yuma once more. He did not know what had happened to his father and uncle. He escaped and raced away through the thick willows. The paths were so narrow that people had to go single file. As he was going through, he heard two Yuma coming toward him on the path, so he hid himself in the bushes until they passed. Then he went on to the river. He did not return by the way they had crossed. He had a shirt of woven cotton, which he took off and tied on top of his head. He got on his horse and entered the water. Just as

[4] In this connection it must be noted that these were not Maricopa offerings. They made no offerings to spirits nor planted prayer plumes.

I:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

173
539
787

he reached the other side, his horse got away from him. He felt around for the tail, but managed to catch the halter rope. He felt sure that if he missed it he would drown. The lad kicked out until he felt the sand under foot; then he stood up. When he reached the bank, he found it as high as a house and steep. There was barely room enough at its base for him to stand; no room for his horse. All the time he sat there he felt unsafe; some one might come along and beat him to death. As he sat there he held to the end of the rope and let his horse swim back and forth. They had started to fight in the middle of the morning. It was just before noon that he swam the Colorado.

As he sat there, wondering how he could get out, he felt that there was no chance of being saved. He saw some small birds coming out of little holes in the bank. They fluttered all about him. Late in the afternoon, he suddenly heard a noise on the bank above him. He did not know what it was, but he could understand it just as plainly as if his own people were talking. As they, the little birds, stood up there, he heard them say, "What shall we do? Shall we take him out or shall we leave him in there?" At the same time he heard an owl hoot. The owl came to the edge of the bank and sang:

maki'lyàvakami'	xuma'akwaxw'i
At what place is he crying?	a fine boy

"Where is the fine-looking boy who is crying? The boy's day has come: he is anxious for his day to come." At the end of this song, the little bird said, "No, I am going to save him. I, xlemkl'tlaya'm (xlemkl' is the name of the birds today; tlaya'm, dark), will save him." He heard this talking but he could not see anyone. Then the little bird said, "Come!" When he heard this, he turned right around and saw that the bank was now only a foot or so high. So he crawled over it and pulled his horse up. As soon as he got on top he found it was as high as before. The little bird said to the owl, "Now it is your turn to take care of him." So the owl turned around and rubbed himself all over. Then the owl stood in front of him in human form. The owl told the lad that he just wanted to show him what he could do. Then the lad got on his horse and started off. The owl said, "On your way back, it will be just the same as when you came. You will not be alone; you will find some people walking in front and in back of you. You will be all right all the way home." Sure enough he saw some people going before him. He saw several stopping to smoke; he passed them. [The dead seem implied, since this locality, the desert east of the Colorado, was the Maricopa land of the dead.] As he went along the owl flew in front of him. When he caught up with it, it flew ahead again. He rode on until nine or ten at night, when he stopped to rest.

There were twenty Maricopa or fewer who escaped: the Yuma say none. They were badly bruised on head and shoulders; some were shot.

The next morning he rode on and overtook them. They had stopped to rest in the shade at noon. His father and uncle had been saved. On their way back, they had cried, thinking he was killed. These two began to wail again as they sat there; others mourned with them. When at noon he came toward them, someone stood up to see who was coming. He saw the lad on his pinto horse: he described them. His father said, "Be careful; perhaps you are not telling me the truth." When they saw it was really he, they all rose to meet him. They rested there: the whole afternoon they cried for their slain relatives.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma
Kohuana

Years later two Yuma men told him that they had seen him sitting under the opposite bank. They did not know how he did it, but they saw him jump on his horse, whip it, and climb right up the bank. 173 539 787

When he was older he became a great warrior and was highly honored.

THE FORM OF THE DREAM EXPERIENCE

The dream experience purported to be an adventure of the dreamer during the night. Under the guidance of a spirit, he moved from mountain to mountain, where the specific cures or songs associated with these peaks were revealed to him. Three illustrations will illumine the pattern of all. 787

One who dreams of Eagle becomes a great singer. In the dream Eagle is high in the sky. He takes the dreamer up there and shows him the various places and mountains, naming them for him. Eagle shows him the whole valley, and tells him how to go about his work curing people.

Any man, even a child, might be asleep. Some bird or animal likes the ways of the sleeper and takes him in his dream way up like the eagle does. He is taken to various places on a string. They think of the buttes as connected by strings, even as far as Needles [i.e., to Avikwame, the sacred mountain of the Mohave]. The dreamer thinks he is moved along the string through the air by the bird. At each butte or mountain the spirit tells him of a different kind of curing. The bird appears in human form.[8]

Papago Foot, the Kohuana, went into the cave in a butte near Tempe (see above). He smoked one of the reeds lying there and fell asleep at once. "He just wanted to do it, because he thought that even if he died it would be better than the way he was living, and perhaps he might become a shaman." He dreamed of a human, whom he did not recognize, who came to him, saying he would help him begin. The spirit tied a cobweb from that butte to Tempe Butte, and thence to Four Peaks, to the San Francisco Mountains ("where he saw the natural bridge"), thence to vikwame' at Needles. He travelled on that cobweb and had various cures revealed to him at each butte. But he spoke of this to someone too early, so the spirit said, "You have gone just halfway [around the circuit]. I intended taking you all the way around until you got back to where you started. But since you have told too soon, you have seen only half of what I had to reveal; you can get along with what little you have seen." So this man cured bowel trouble. Others always twitted him for telling. 159 787

The form was generically the same for dreams in which powers other than curing were bestowed. 787

One who dreams of the mocking bird becomes a great orator: he might make speeches lasting for days and nights. The mocking bird takes him along the [long

[8] Curtis records the dream of a shaman in which instruction in curing is given by various insects, etc., to whom he is conducted by his guardian, Buzzard (II, 84).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

787 ridge of the] Sierra Estrella from east to west, the bird talking all the way without pausing for breath. Then he tries the dreamer. When he too can do this he is ready as an orator.

There is one war leader, the only man who dreams of going after the enemy. When he dies, another takes his place at dreaming this. He dreams of overcoming danger and killing enemies. He dreams only of being successful in his fights. In his dreams he could see certain little flies (kumanyihwi') fighting up in the air. He saw by the way they fought how he should act to be successful in his battles. He also dreams he sees certain cacti (ᵃʂu'l), in the form of humans, fighting. When they see he is fitted for his position, the spirit [*sic*] takes him into a large cave inside the mountain in enemy territory. As he enters he sees a club, a shield, and a spear hanging on the walls of the house. Each time he is taken there, they give him a chance to use one of these. He keeps practising until he has used them all. Then he leads his people to war.

787 822 The dream was also patterned on the four-fold division of the night; a pattern which was omnipresent in Maricopa thought. It appeared in the conduct of meetings, in the organization of curing by shamans, in orations to the dying, and in songs. These divisions were named "went down," evening; "old night," the middle of the night (its major part); "nearing," before dawn; and "dawn."[6] Significant dreams occurred at any time during the night according to the following statements, but those that were favorable came only in the middle hours.

When they dream of animals, birds, and insects, the night is as clear as daylight. In the first part of the night, it makes the dreamer kind of wild. The animals and other beings will eat each other. Hence a child is kept awake during [513] [855] the early part of the night, until ten o'clock, to avoid this. In the early evening one has bad dreams.

After sunset, the birds, animals, and even the spirits of trees are moving around, so if you go to bed early you will have bad dreams. In the second part of the night, they have settled down to quiet. Then is the time one will not dream of anything bad. They do not say anything about the third part of the night.

[823] [827] There is a saying that there is a person standing in the west and another in the east, who between them swing the whole world so that everybody sleeps, just as a baby is swung to sleep.

At dawn, the larger birds (eagle and hawk) begin to wake and kill the little birds and insects. Blood stains are everywhere. If anybody still sleeps in this atmosphere, he will dream of bad things. So they wake children and young people before the sun rises. [855]

[753] [773] Toward early morning, before dawn, the spirit birds are fighting and eating each other, all with bloodstains. If one dreams of this he will get sick. That is why people always wake their children before sunrise.

[6] See p. 145.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

It appears quite probable that the blood referred to here is that blood which was released at the time of creation, which is the embodiment of all disease and is ever present in the world about. Most sickness was said to be caused by contact with this blood in "bad" dreams (p. 280), which are here defined as those of the evening and dawn.

There is no explicit account at hand illustrating the effect of this patterning on the dream narrative, but it is implied in descriptions of the content of several songs.

The song il,icá'c, for example, told "of many different things." It told how the little birds or animals of the air are preparing to go to a celebration already under way; how they got there, and how they behaved. It told how, in the middle hours of the night, they thought they should not spend the whole night there, but decided it better to go home, and accordingly how they left the celebration. The song continued that toward morning, those who stayed all night were worn out and sleepy, and how their husbands and children starved in the morning, but how those who had returned had breakfast prepared for their families.

SPIRITS

The spirits of which they dreamed were primarily birds, with some animals and insects, the mountains, certain stars, lightning and thunder, and possibly the rain. Trees were mentioned as having spirits, but that these were power sources is exceedingly doubtful. The number of spirits seems to have been definitely limited, but the basis of their discrimination from those birds, animals, or natural phenomena which were not spirits remains wholly obscure. The question whether the spirits were single individuals or classes seems to have been of no consequence to the Maricopa, hence unresolved. Thus, whether Buzzard was a particular unitary being, or whether the genus buzzard supplied an unlimited number of spirits which functioned alike, was not made clear. The impression is that they thought of but a single spirit Buzzard, of whom the birds of everyday life were but tangible and earthly representatives. This is clearly the case with Coyote, who is Coyote of the creation tales. In the case of insects, flies, gnats, crickets, and the like, these appeared in dreams as a cloud of insects operating in concert. Their plurality proves nothing, since they never appeared individually.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

776 825 Birds mentioned as spirits—there may have been others—were mocking bird, an orange shouldered blackbird, buzzard, eagle, horned owl, crow, killdeer, "mountain killdeer,"[7] and duck. Among birds "one does not hear in dreams" were road-runner, hawks, and crane (heron?). Animals named as spirits were deer, coyote, jackrabbit, cottontail rabbit, dog, frog, and possibly bat. Certain spirit coyotes created by Coyote (as recounted in the Coyote tale, p. 355) were also dreamed. The four insect spirits named are partially identifiable: cricket, gnat (?) small flies (kumanyihwi'), and xalkwata't. Fish were also dreamed of. In addition there were the local mountains, thunder and lightning, rain (?), the morning star, the constellation Orion's Belt, and two spirits of unknown identity, cïl, aitcuwa'n, and kukupu'aa.

776 787 The powers conferred by these spirits were always specific, despite the fact that several gave powers of more than one kind. Some of the powers were obviously more impressive than others, but why Kutox signaled Eagle and Buzzard as the most important spirit birds is obscure. Last Star stated that Coyote was the [756] most important: "Every shaman who cures always mentions Coyote, Buzzard, and Horned Owl. Coyote and Buzzard could teach the cure for a number of diseases [not specified] and would select various men for each. Although Eagle is a strong bird, none of the shamans seem to dream of him; he is never mentioned in their songs."

756 776 787 Curing powers were associated with certain spirits. Horned Owl alone cured soul loss caused by dreaming of a dead relative. An insect, xalkwata't,[8] and Coyote gave power to cure any illness. "Every shaman who dreamed of xalkwata't claimed he was head of all these animals, the best one living." The power of Coyote [773] was derived from his having recovered from every known disease at the time of creation (see p. 351). A shaman with Coyote power was exceptional in that he never sang in public for entertainment. A shaman with this power needed only ride a horse to

[7] Looks like a small killdeer but lacks black stripes on its throat: possibly the mountain plover.

[8] As large as the thumb, which lives in the ditches.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

cure it. One who dreamed of Buzzard became a great shaman, with ability to cure the well-nigh lethal wounds caused by Yavapai poisoned arrows (matâ∂au', "poisoned," "bewitched"). Duck and Gnat (ʔ unyĭpâwa'pâwa') were mentioned as additional spirit councillors of a shaman who cured such wounds. Further, Buzzard and Coyote conferred clairvoyant power to discover the enemy's position in the mountains and to detect thieves. The power of Jackrabbit and Cottontail was the cure of sickness caused by eating their flesh (jackrabbit at least was forbidden to young people) or of blindness caused by getting their hair in the eyes. They also cured earache. Orange Shouldered Blackbird cured sickness derived from deer,[9] but gave primarily his song, since "the blackbird is a great singer." Similarly, the Deer dreamer was a singer but could cure. Crickets gave the power to cure bewitchment caused by one who dreamed of the constellation Orion's Belt. Shamans who dreamed of crickets used rattles, the sound resembling that of the insect (but see below).

Other spirits bestowed non-curative powers: clairvoyance, bewitching, legerdemain, rain-making, singing, etc. A man who dreamed of Crow became a great thief, of Eagle a great singer. Similarly, the Mountain Killdeer dreamer became a great singer "because the killdeer is a great singer. But Mountain Killdeer is a bad bird. When one who dreamed of him sat down to sing, the whole village was stirred up. Young girls and even married women rushed to this singing, ran off with the singer." Mocking Bird made a man an orator, hence chiefs and battle challengers dreamed of him. A spirit called cĭl,aitcuwa'n gave clairvoyant power to see who would win a race. Frog gave power to bewitch and to handle live coals: singing the Frog song brought rain. One "who had dreamed of rain" could cause it to fall, which may mean that rain was a spirit. The morning star was conceived as a spirit: it is the transformed old woman of the Flute Lure tale (p. 396). "A man, when he first dreams to become a great warrior, first describes the morning star. This star has especially to do

[9] The meaning of this is obscure, but recalls the Pima belief that animals cause all or nearly all sickness.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

554 with war." He acquires bravery and ability to kill. Again, cer-
776 tain small flies (kumanyihwi') and a thorny cactus ('xu'l) figured
787 as spirits in the preparation of a warrior. "Those who dream of
[821] Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. This was cured by one who dreamed of crickets." It is not clear that this constellation was a spirit. The three stars of the Belt were believed a mountain sheep, a deer, and an antelope, any one of which might have been the spirit involved.

776 The reason for some of these associations of spirits and powers
787 is patent as founded on natural characteristics of the birds.
811 Thus, the mocking bird as speaker, the crow as thief, blackbird
825 and killdeer as singers. Similarly, the association of the frog with rain is obvious and so possibly clairvoyance (locating the enemy from the sky) with the buzzard's soaring habit.

Other associations depend for comprehension on certain be-
[753] liefs. Rabbit flesh was believed to cause sickness and its hairs blindness: these were cured by the spirit rabbits on the homeopathic principle. On a similar principle the curing of soul loss by Horned Owl, that is, where the cause was dreaming of dead rel-
[775] atives, seems connected with the belief that a human heart, on cremation, becomes a horned owl and that this owl seen flitting near a dwelling presages death. Certain other associations are
[773] founded on beliefs incorporated in the Creation tale (*q.v.*): Coyote, having suffered every kind of sickness, can cure all, and Frog, the first witch of all time, having slain her father, the culture hero, by witchcraft, now gives the power to bewitch.

776 The mountains as spirits differed from those of birds and ani-
787 mals in that they had no powers to grant. But that they figured
823 as spirits is certified by the way they appear in the clairvoyant act by which the whereabouts of the enemy was discovered. Then the mountain spirits were thought to enter the séance and respond to questions concerning the enemy (see below). The same spiritual quality is implied by the slayer of an enemy turning away from the mountains of the enemy country to avoid their maleficence. Four nearby mountains were thought especially significant for the Maricopa: Pima Butte, Sierra Estrella, Salt River Range, and a butte immediately southwest of the

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave
Yuma

Salt-Gila junction (but curiously enough called xagâvĭcaðo', "water divider"; possibly an outlier of the Sierra Estrella). The Salt River Range was known as "greasy mountain" (vikwaxa's) as the scene of the incident in the Creation tale where Coyote finished eating the culture hero's heart and wiped his greasy hands. "They thought of these four mountains as their own because they lived between them. They were not safe beyond these limits." However, certain mountains beyond these were selected as of the same nature: ᵃvikatcâkwi'n,â, "granary basket mountain," the Mohawk Mountains halfway down the Gila; vi'iðo', "willow mountain," south of Prescott; another lying northeast of this, called viakâvânau', "ridge pole mountain," because of its level top; and 'ikwĭmkwima'tc, "dancing with horns," somewhat to the east of the last. "The people long ago called these mountains theirs." Four Peaks in Yavapai country, a mountain near Yuma (called vial,xa", "berdache mountain"), and the sacred mountain of the Mohave (vikwâme') near Needles also had spirit qualities.

The most significant of these were Pima Butte and the Sierra Estrella. The former (viva'vâ, "solitary mountain") figures very much like the sacred mountain Avikwame for the Mohave, or the San Francisco Peaks for the Havasupai. "They praise this little butte because when a man begins to dream, the spirits always take him there first.[10] It is famous even among the Mohave and Yuma." This butte and another south of it were thought to fight with Four Peaks and another mountain on its north side. These represented respectively the Maricopa and the Yuma-Mohave-Yavapai. Depending on which pair of mountains won, so it would fare with humans. A better expression of mountains as partisans is the following.

The man who dreams of war says the Sierra Estrella owns the Maricopa, Pima and Papago: Four Peaks owns the Yavapai. These two are always debating. When Four Peaks wins the debate this one (Sierra Estrella) mourns. Then Four Peaks is happy; he sings and dances, for his people will win in battle.

[10] I understood Last Star to state that a shaman was always first taken to a high hill (called matâu'lgwĭsiðe"c, "high dirt that is a shaman") on the north bank of the Gila, opposite Pima Butte. This is an insignificant hill; hence I was presumably mistaken.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Yuma

776 823 Sierra Estrella was thought to have a berdache living in it, hence its name, vial,xa", "berdache mountain." As explained above, this mountain gambled with the similarly named mountain near Yuma to see which should lose a warrior, who became a berdache. Presumably these two mountains also were thought to contend for the success of their people in war, because it was said of the Mohawk Mountains:

> It lies midway between the Yuma and the Kaveltcadom, so that it belongs to both people. It does not take one side, but always agrees with the mountain here or at Yuma as to which people shall die.

776 787 In dreams the faunal spirits at least appeared in human guise, or rather, as might be expected, their aspect fluctuated between avian or animal form and the anthropomorphic. "Those who see the coyote, eagle, or buzzard in dreams describe them as a boy or girl going along." "Some people dream of dogs who appear as persons." [11] The dogs tell how they are abused by people and instruct the dreamer to tell this." Dogs are persons; that is why [825] Kutox did not beat his really annoying curs. Again in the vision recounted above: "So the owl turned around and rubbed himself all over. Then the owl stood in front of him in human form." [821] The case is somewhat different with Thunder and Lightning, which were conceived outright as anthropomorphic beings. Such a fluctuating conception of birds and animals would seem an inevitable result of crediting them with human intelligence and speech.

[614] There was no tendency to dream of one's sib totems. This is curious, because some totems, such as buzzard, eagle, and coyote, were repeatedly mentioned as spirits. Perhaps all totems were spirits: this is not clear. The failure to integrate dream ex- [182] perience with the social structure is not surprising, because the totems themselves were left functionless in relation to the sib system. Maricopa thought was accretive, rather than systematizing.

THE SONGS AND SONG CYCLES

533 787 The dream experience had its counterpart in song. The Maricopa say that songs were dreamed. They imply that all songs

[11] As exemplified in the tale of the Dog Champion, p. 396.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma
Mohave

were originally dreamed, but of some the informants merely remarked that these were revived by individuals who may or may not have dreamed them in turn. At any rate, they feel that dreaming, not learning, was the orthodox way of coming by songs. 533 787

Conversely it is doubtful that there were many significant dream experiences in which songs were not bestowed. Songs were not mentioned in connection with acquiring oratorical powers: possibly they were absent from the dreams of the war leader, but I think not. In describing dreams to me, the song was always mentioned first, as though that was the most significant element. The curative powers which the dreamer acquired and the like were sometimes mentioned as though adjunct to song.

All this is generically true of the Yumans of the lower Colorado. Much, if not all, that Kroeber has written of dreaming and singing among the Mohave[11] might be transferred bodily to the Maricopa. But there are real and highly significant differences.

The Maricopa song tells the dream experience. Its burden might be almost unintelligible by reason of its oblique reference to the actual happenings of the dream, but its structure was fixed. Its structure, that is the sequence of events described or hinted at, duplicated the pattern of the dream itself. The songs or the clusters of songs that made up the cycles were narratives of the actual dream. "In his songs a man first tells what the insects or birds did to him in the early evening. They go on to tell how he went along the strings that connect the mountain tops. His song tells a story. He refers to the spirits only by nicknames, but people know what he means." Again, "all songs tell what is going on at a certain place, or what happened there, or how the dreamer was taken somewhere."

The songs were not individual verses but clusters or cycles all carrying forward the same theme. The cycle "tels of his trip, his experience in dreaming of his spirit." There might be "a hundred or more" songs in a single cycle. The length was such that they sang the whole night through. Within the cycle the songs were grouped, but how is not clear. I am not certain whether

[11] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 754 f.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

533 801 [822] [787] Mrs. Redbird meant that the cycle as a whole was divided into four groups of songs or that the individual songs came in clusters of four. Four major groups was probably meant, since this would then represent the fourfold division of the night and of the dream experience narrated in the song. Yet it is possible that both types of grouping occurred since the pattern of fours was so strong among the Maricopa. The songs in sequence were "in different tunes," she said; illustrating by the contrast of verse and chorus in our own songs. "The sets of songs in any cycle sometimes came in fours, depending on the story the songs told. There would be four different tunes. But there were also sets of twos and threes; not always in fours."

533 A single song will illustrate the type of all. The song il,icá'c told how the little birds or animals of the air were preparing to go to a celebration that was under way; how they got there and how they behaved. "The middle part of the night," it told how they thought they should not spend the whole night there; how they decided it better to go home, and how they left the celebration. It went on "to tell that toward morning," those who stayed there all night were tired and sleepy; how their husbands and children starved in the morning, and how those who had returned had prepared breakfast for their families. Here is explicitly the quartering of the night: the journey of the early night, the dance of the middle part, the return before morning, and morning itself. There is only doubt whether the rendering of the song through a night's singing did not also conform to this quartering; that "the middle part of the night" does not also refer to the songs sung during that period. But even so, the narrative would conform to pattern.

It is doubtful that there was any element common to all songs other than the experiences of the night. It was said that "they sang about Coyote in every song and mentioned him in every tale." This probably means no more than that Coyote figured frequently in song and story. Similarly, it may be presumed that Pima Butte, with Sierra Estrella a sacred mountain, was commonly sung about since "the spirits always take a man there first" in his dreams.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave

It is quite clear that the cycles did not recite myths, but were confined to the personal experience of the dreamer. Nor did the dreamer project himself back into the mythological period: dreams and songs referred to the contemporaneous scene alone. Mrs. Redbird was emphatic on these points, contrasting Maricopa songs with the mythological type of the Mohave, with which she was acquainted. In both points they stand in clear distinction to Mohave songs. This is important, for the nature of the songs reinforces the fact that Maricopa dreams were individual experiences of a type more general in North American than the Mohave.

Yet the myth type was not wholly absent. Two songs at least told fragments of the Creation tale. Buzzard song related "all about" the creation; the appearance and actions of the sick culture hero, of his cremation, of the dispersal of the people in the desert and their settling in their historic homes. The song of Frog told how "in the first part of the evening" she left her home (after killing the culture hero); how she was pursued, and how she caused a storm to rise behind her to prevent her enemies following. "It tells all about rain and wind."

Tales also occurred with soliloquies delivered in the form of song, several examples of which are given in the tales at the end of this paper. Herzog also recorded a song incidental to a Maricopa myth.[13] This is a stylistic peculiarity widespread in Southwestern tales. Such songs were not sung apart from the tales.

Not every song was dreamed, at least by its singer. Several instances were cited. It was said, for instance, of the song tcutŏ'-xăm, used when a group of boys were set to destroying a bees' nest, that "this song is not dreamed, but a man who knows how sings it." Similarly no mention was made of dreaming in the case of tatuma'npĭg, sung during the girls' puberty rites. It may be that ritual songs were not dreamed, although their content was much the same as dreamed songs. But it is more likely that their occurrence was like that of the song Deserted. "This had not been sung for a long time. One man wanted to start it again for a dance. Someone else had dreamed it long ago: this man did

[13] Herzog, *Yuman Musical Style*, pp. 188, 224.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

533 not dream it, he merely danced it again." The probability is
787 that, of the songs in use at any one time, some were recognized as
[535] dreamed, others learned, with the assumption that singers of the latter would ultimately dream their songs as well. Obviously the Maricopa were minimizing the actual learning of the highly stylized songs, traditional or borrowed, in favor of their theory of dream origin.

The tribal song repertory must have been fluctuating, due to
177 intertribal diffusion and to death of the singers. Borrowing of
533 songs on a wholesale scale is demonstrable among the Yumans and their neighbors, as Kroeber and Herzog have pointed out.[14] According to my own information various songs of the Maricopa and their guest tribes on the Gila were obtained from sources
533 outside. Songs were dropped on the death of their singers. At
[768] the cremation of a singer the mourners sang his songs, "only four of them," and then burned the gourd or basket drum he had used as accompaniment. By doing so they held the songs have been destroyed. The song lay fallow as it were until it was resurrected
[787] by a new dreamer. Two instances were given: Eagle was dreamed by a man who sang it once or twice and died. "They sang it no more." Dragonfly was "started again," but sung only a few times: the singer died. Recently they sang a man's favorite songs at his cremation, whether or not he had been a singer, and within a month or two began to sing them again.

Occasions for the use of songs were numerous. Not only were they in use at all social celebrations and dances, but provided incidental entertainment at evening gatherings in the meeting house when topics for discussion were exhausted. At such times
[756] shamans, almost without exception, sang their curing songs by way of entertainment. (So stated Kutox, but Last Star declared such songs were held secret for actual curing.) Some of these
[527] festivities recurred with annual regularity; for instance, the dances when the wheat came up in February and at the harvest of August–September, or at the sahuaro drinking bout in mid-June. Others were at irregular intervals during the year; at races and games. In times of starvation they went to other tribes

[14] *Loc. cit.*

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

CURING AND BEWITCHING

753 761 787 Illness and death were occasioned in four ways: by bad dreams, by the loss of the soul, by the intrusion of a disease object brought about by witchcraft, and by natural causes, old age and violence.[25] The most common cause was bad dreaming: such disorders as bowel complaints, diarrhoea, colds, pains in the chest and side, were attributed to it. Loss of the soul was also [774] common, but less so: this brought fainting spells. Soul loss was due solely to having dreamed of the dead: dead relatives came to persuade the dreamer to join them. Since these two concepts cover practically all cases, Last Star's declaration was justified that "it was always by dreaming that one got sick."

753 787 Dreaming wrong meant dreaming of certain things, mostly unspecified, contact with which in the dream brought it about that one acquired an illness. These illnesses were forever afloat in the world around. They were the blood, the sum of all dis- [773] eases, which gushed from the ground at the time of creation despite Cipas' efforts to stem it (p. 347). Since bad dreams which caused illness were also defined as those of the evening and dawn, when the spirit birds fought and bloodstains were everywhere (p. 248), it seems probable that this ancient heritage of blood-disease was meant. The acquisition of such illness was not in any way due to spirits, whether by the spirits' own activity or a shaman calling on his familiar to inflict disease. Spirits were con- 756 cerned only in that they had taught each shaman his cures.

The shaman's part in curing was that of one who had the power to draw out the particular illness, because a revelation had been made in his dreams. During the course of the cure he was not possessed, nor did he so much as call on his familiar for aid. [755] He blew, breathed, and sucked on the patient, and brushed with the hand, to allay the fever and pain and to draw the illness from him. But he did not suck out a disease object.

753 It is doubtful that this should be included with the classical

[762] [25] We may remark incidentally that our informants knew of no cases of suicide.

There was no belief comparable to that of the Pima that death was due to Sun and Night (Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 193, 251).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

cases of "illness by intrusion." The illness was thought of as due to the contamination of the dream. Illnesses were ever present, as we might say of pandemic diseases. They had no concrete form to be sucked out as an object. We can hardly speak here of contrasting theories of disease: soul loss *versus* intrusion.

The loss of the soul was suggested as the cause only when the symptoms were of one kind, fainting spells; when it was assumed the patient had dreamed of the dead. Such a person would be in apparent good health, when suddenly "he thinks he turns around and sees a dead relative coming, and there! he is dead," i.e., faints.

W——, a boy of fourteen, said that whenever he has fainting spells, his dead relatives appear to him; always two or three old men together. They talk to him, saying, "Come on; come along with us." His dead grandfather is the principal visitor. He also said that when a little child, he saw a ghost, dressed in white, seated on the spot where later his uncle was cremated. This ghost kept on nodding her head with its long hair.[46]

Illness and death due to manifest physical causes were regarded as of natural origin, even though the occasion of accident or wounding was held the result of non-physical influences. In answer to the direct question whether natural deaths did not occur, Kutox replied in the affirmative: in old age, but they were very rare (naturally, since few survive to old age). Of them they said "their heart pulls down," 'iwana'l$_y$g.

In all cases it was held that

before a person dies, while he is sick, they say the soul is already gone. During his sickness, his soul wanders in all the places the man has been on his hunting trips. After the soul gets tired, it makes up its mind that it is going to the land of the dead. Then, when the soul goes there, the man dies.

It was not fully specified what things it was dangerous to dream about beyond the conflict of the spirit birds (p. 248), but several plants were mentioned. One called i'icama'c, "root wood," was a vine, which, growing beside a tree, made the tree twist. If one dreamed of this, or went near enough to smell it, he became entirely paralyzed and his body was sensitive to the touch. If this root be placed in the sun, it wiggled; so with the

[46] These "fainting spells" are apparently epileptic seizures. This is the lad who as a child could understand the language of dogs (p. 240).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Yuma Mohave
Halchidhoma

753 787 [756] patient, his limbs twisted. This could be cured by a shaman who dreamed of either Coyote or Buzzard (the informant was uncertain).

[824] Another plant, called i'iuxa's, "scraped wood," caused chills and fever. The shaman never told in this connection of what he himself had dreamed. On diagnosing an illness as due to this cause he secretly dispatched a man of l,ew'c sib for ironwood (axpa'lg) in the morning. A limb was scraped and fashioned into [755] an image of the patient by this man, who at noon suddenly entered and held it close before the patient's eyes. When the latter saw it, he began to cry aloud. Then the shaman proceeded with his cure.[27]

The most dangerous thing of which to dream was kwarao'-kuma'c!c, "iron eater." (kwarao' was the name formerly applied to the stone of which knife blades were made, presumably obsidian, now transferred to iron.) The informant knew nothing of this dream object but its name. This disease caused sores, which ate away the flesh and the bone below. A shaman who could cure [756] this had dreamed of a high pile of sand. When a hole is dug into the base of a pile of loose sand, the sand runs in as fast as one removes it. Hence the spirit (what it was is unknown) showed him how to stop it with his hand, which he then knew how to apply to the running sore.

115 756 Curing shamans were relatively few; five or six at any time. There is a question whether women were ever shamans. Last Star declared that there were none known among Maricopa and Kaveltcadom, although Mohave, Yuma, and Halchidhoma had them. Kutox's statement that at any one time there were one or two is probably to be interpreted as referring to the mixed community as a whole or to his own Halchidhoma group.[28]

755 The manner of calling a shaman to cure was stereotyped. An elderly man of the patient's family approached the shaman's house, calling him by the appropriate kinship term. He did not

[171] [27] This is reminiscent of Pima and Papago curing by touching effigies in the Vikita-Navitco complex.

[28] Last Star confirmed Russell's statement that the Pima women shamans specialized on abdominal diseases (*Pima Indians*, p. 261).

1:Spier E-6 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

159 shaman, named ʞatoi', the best of his time. When he arrived, he announced that
755 he cured only at night. That night he cured inside the house; there was no fire.
648 He held his long eagle feathers in his left hand: these were four, bound in pairs to a short wooden handle. In his right hand was his gourd rattle. He sat with these and as he sang, everything was made clear to him. We thought it too dark for him to see, but for him it was broad daylight. I lay crosswise just in front of him. Only my wife was present with us.

As I had such a high fever, the shaman fanned me with his feathers to wave it away. When he had reduced the fever, he could see plainly who had bewitched
[754] me. He sang his songs as he fanned. I did not understand clearly, since he sang in Pima, but they were about Coyote. Coyote described the one who had bewitched me, told the shaman. When a spirit thus describes the right one, the patient gets well, but if it is wrong, he dies.

He would bend over me, but not touch my body. He took out what was in me, breathing hard as if swallowing something. Suddenly he jerked away and acted as though he was going to vomit. When he took it out of his mouth, it was a little grain of charcoal. Sometimes it is a little pebble, the size of a wheat grain: it depends on what the seizure is. If a fingernail were thrown into one, the sick man would have cramps [probably paralysis]. When he took this out, he switched his feathers back and forth to knock all the sickness away from me. Finally he told me who had bewitched me and why.

753 Curing for the loss of the soul was obtained as a generalized description. The loss was due to dreaming of the dead; its symp-
774 tom fainting or dizziness. A person dreams he is in the land of
●787 the dead. If he eats anything given him there, he gets sick. He might dream repeatedly of this, join in the games there, and because it gave him pleasure, dream of it every night. Such a one would faint; then they always sent for a shaman who knew how to
755 treat it. The shaman's procedure was to search for indications
774 of the route the soul had taken toward the land of the dead, in order to pursue and capture it. He was one who had dreamed of Horned Owl. Significant of the extent of this type of illness and curing was the informant's statement that "this has often happened and they always tell it this way."

When the shaman neared the patient's home, he stopped from time to time trying to discover which way the soul had been taken, that is, whether by air or along the earth. He circled the locality counterclockwise, which "he says is circling the whole
[775] world." The dead were believed to have a path into this world from each of the cardinal directions. But they, the dead, rarely used the east and north roads, which were through the air. South and west roads were along the earth. When the shaman reached

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

victim should long for a certain kind of food, but the food would 754
make him worse (as was told in the Creation tale of the dying culture hero bewitched by Frog). He then buried it near the victim's house, or thrust it into a corner of the roof thatch, or in a nearby bush. "Then the victim would soon hear an owl hooting nearby, his dead relatives would come, and he would fall sick." If he buried it quietly the bewitched would simply sicken, but if he whirled it on a cord like a bull-roarer, the victim would feel he was spinning about. The stick might also be planted where there had been a cremation.

In this case the sick man will not complain of feeling sick, but sit about as though sleepy. At night he would see and talk with the one cremated at that place. The bewitched would say he was tired out, overworked. Not until he was about to die would he tell of having seen the dead; that he had made up his mind to leave his relatives. Then they would send for a shaman to cure him. But if he made up his mind to die, he could not be cured. If the sick man was cured, the bewitcher might choose to repeat his act until the victim died.

Somewhat different methods were also recorded. The bewitcher might swallow a morsel of coal from a cremation pyre, and breathe hard at the victim, "shoot him with it" ('ak,iyă'm, "shooting"). Those who bewitch this way dream of Frog. A man [787]
who dreamed of Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. He would break off a tiny fragment of a stick, or a bit of his own fingernail, and "throw it at a man at a great distance, who would then fall down sick immediately." This was cured by a shaman who had dreamed of Cricket. Hair combings were carefully gathered to be hidden away, lest a shaman use them to bewitch; "make them swallow their own hair."

A few notes were obtained on practical remedies, self-admin- 778
istered for common ailments, such as rheumatism and bowel- 757
complaints. Colds and bowel-complaints were dosed with a boiled decoction of ivusl'. The juice of gwĕnmuci'ʀa root (a low plant growing in sandy canyon beds) was used as a cathartic. These were boiled, or simply mashed and soaked in water. The treatment for rheumatism (tao'ʀăm) was to bathe the afflicted part with boiled avĕmacăđer, "rattlesnake afraid" (an aromatic plant resembling rhubarb, but smaller) or heat it in a pit containing coals on which ivusl' was thrown. The patient sat with

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15 Maricopa

783 825 young man's hair for him. Even then this man would not dare touch a drinking utensil after having touched the feather he wore, else those who used it would get sick. Kutox said he would not touch an eagle feather for anything!

787 726 Clairvoyants could reveal the whereabouts of the enemy or forecast his coming. The clairvoyant shaman who accompanied a war party into the mountains, one who dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote, smoked four cigarettes and fell as though dead. His smoking was thought to lift him high into the air. When he recovered he told how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain where the location and numbers of the enemy were revealed and how easily they might be slain. The war party then set off following his leadership.

[823] To foretell if enemies were approaching on stormy nights when they might be expected, a shaman performed in the meeting house. His spirit was unknown to the informant. The performance was predicated on the belief that the mountains of the several tribal territories were partisans of their inhabitants. Four piles of dirt were made in the meeting house. This shaman went to each in turn, stooped, and sucked it up, groaning all the while. When he finished the fourth pile, he dropped "dead." They put him with a rattle in a little hut built inside the meeting house. Then the mountains came "in the form of persons": the audience felt the draft as they entered. "The house might be crowded, yet they could hear the mountain talk in there." A mountain would take the rattle, asking "How did they come to kill this man [the shaman]? What is wrong that you killed him?" The mountain spirit would say, "I am tired," and act the part. A man sitting beside the "dead" shaman answered, "Yes, I know you are tired, having come a long way. But this night we fear the enemy; for that reason we called you here." The mountain would reply, "No, the enemy are not thinking of you; perhaps some other time but not now. If you do not believe me, another person [mountain] will tell you." Then it left and immediately another mountain entered. "Even the mountain at Yuma came: it spoke Yuma." Then a mountain of Papago land came in; immediately the other left. The Papago mountain would say,

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

"What is the matter with you? Were you asleep? Why did you not catch that one, an enemy, so I could club him to death?" The mountains also told if the enemy was on the way and how soon he would arrive. The interlocutor must know how to ask the mountain spirits: if he asked them wrong, the mountain would say, "Well, I do not know about the enemy, but I know that today an important person died," meaning only a lizard or a bug.

Forecasting who would win an inter-tribal race was a similar performance. Kutox described it as he once saw it while camping on the way to race with the Pima. When the shaman sang, he told them he had been instructed by his nakĭ'tc (grandparent's brother or step-father), a spirit called cĭl,aitcuwa'n.[36] They made only one dirt pile, in which someone secreted potsherds to test him. The shaman sang and rubbed his body, changing the dirt pile into foamy water, which he sucked in without stopping for breath. Again rubbing himself, he took the sherds off his body and flung them away. He fell "dead": everyone had to be quiet. When he recovered he told who would win. If the Maricopa were to win, he told how he had been handed many gifts by the spirit (symbolic of their winnings); otherwise the spirit said, "I was going to give you a certain thing, but now I cannot. I will do so later."

A shaman who had dreamed of Buzzard and Coyote could use his clairvoyant power to discover a thief, as well as the location of the enemy. He never mentioned the name of the thief, names being taboo, but described his clothing or habits.

Two instances were cited. An old woman got a shaman to discover a thief. He sat on the spot where she had last had the money, smoked four cigarettes, and told what she had done. On another occasion, a man left a bead necklace on the bank when he went swimming. It was gone when he returned: there were no footprints. He brought a shaman who made him stand where he had laid it. The shaman went along until he came to a tree, where he said there was a nest. "Sure enough, a crow had taken it there."

PRAYERS, OMENS, AND BELIEFS

Prayers (matyâxata'l) were not addressed to any spirit in particular, Mrs. Redbird thought. The air was full of spirits who

[36] Meaning unknown to informants, but seems to be based on cĭl,âai,' "sand."

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

776 would hear any prayer. Last Star also thought that they were
782 not directed to particular spirits.

Old people think that when the trees begin to bud, their lives have changed, been renewed; that a spirit has pulled them through the hard winter. They would then address the various spirits of animals and strong birds [that is, those that have power]. They did not pray to sun or moon, or dream of them. The sun toward evening says, "I have gone through the whole world watching my children. They seem all right, so I think I will go down and see how they are getting on in the other world." The sun claims every living creature as his own: so it seems
[821] queer to Last Star that they do not pray to him. The moon is an old woman who looks down on little children and protects them. Hence when the moon first appears, the little children are told to call her by a kinship term, elkls, grandparent's sister.

771 Prayer plumes were not used by the Maricopa, although the
782 Pima usage was known. Nor were other offerings made, as shell, turquoise; nor sand paintings and fetishes constructed. The pollen crosses marked on themselves by Yavapai were equally unknown.

183 Beliefs in a magical order of events and actions were moder-
771 ately important in Maricopa thought. At the same time they gave only lip service to some of these, differentiating rather clearly between sayings and beliefs. Mrs. Redbird, my interpreter, proved invaluable in this matter, always carefully prefacing her translation with the observation that the item was one of literal belief or merely a saying.[27] All beliefs and allied practices not mentioned elsewhere in this section on religion are resumed here.

787 Apart from the import of dreams, there were several omens,
825 almost without exception presaging disaster. If the enemy were nearing a fishing party, the fish then broiling would shout out loud from among the coals. Just as soon as the fish were eaten, the enemy would appear shouting. Sometimes a fish bled from its side before it was cut: this was a sign someone would be wounded. If on a journey or to war, a deer joined the party instead of fleeing, it was taken as an omen that one of them would be killed. But the informant immediately added, that it meant they would kill an enemy, because to take a deer without having to hunt for it was lucky!

[763] Death or an epidemic was presaged by a horned owl seen flitting about the houses: when his mouth opened a light was seen

[27] For sayings see p. 331.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma
Halchidhoma

in it. When the loon (xalyâpu'kc), flying high in the air, cried out, this also announced the advent of "a terrible disease." It was heard just before the influenza epidemic of 1918 which carried off many of their number. The appearance of a comet also betokened the death of a prominent person or a general disaster.

A young chicken crowing like a rooster was a portent of death in its owner's family. If one's possessions made an unexpected noise, the owner would die. Similarly, if a snake crawled into the house an inmate would die. "The snake says he has come to the funeral."

Before my interpreter's father died, her mother went out one night. She sat down. Suddenly she felt something very cold. Looking down, she saw a little rattlesnake coiled around her ankle. She was too frightened to scream. It uncoiled, crawled a foot or two, and coiled again. She tried to drive it away, but it was dead. Next day a big rattler came to the door and coiled up. It did not rattle before they killed it. Soon after, the man died.

The tale Dog Champion (p. 396) yields several omens: a skull speaks, a pot cries out, a log groans; all presaging disaster to the Yuma at the hands of the Halchidhoma.

It was believed that certain actions would bring on sickness: handling a chickenhawk, or anything it had killed; or a boy eating the game he killed. Similarly, if a father ate the game he killed, his child would sicken. (Surely this conflicts with practice.) Arrowheads (those that were found ?) were dangerous to have: the thunder would be sure to strike one who carried them about.[18] Lightning-struck trees were avoided for fear of sickness. If a turtle shell was put over a child it would grow no more.

In a myth (p. 374) it is noted that killing various desert birds and insects will cause rain to fall: cactus wren, a bird called vitâpana', and tarantula.

The prehistoric ruins were believed to have been occupied by a people, who like themselves, were created by the culture heroes. They were called pipain,iko'a, "old people."

In the mountains to the northwest were the footprints of a giant, who figures in a tale (p. 409). There was no belief in dwarfs or water-babies in the mountains.

[18] The Papago also associated them with lightning, believing they are to be found where lightning has struck. They were also used for curing (Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, pp. 111, 180).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

When I [Kuton] was young I did not think people who were cremated would be like humans again. But I think I will be dead soon, and now in my dreams I see them in the form of people. I recognize them and talk with them. I have come to believe that there are such people living on the other side of these mountains. [775] [787]

The road taken by the dead was along a low sand hill westward beyond the barrier of the Gila Bend–Maricopa Mountains. Beyond these was a shade under which sat an aged woman. A little farther on the road forked: those who died in war took the branch to the right (i.e., north or west?), those who died of sickness, that to the left (south). An account of recovering a lost soul which had set out for the land of the dead (p. 286) gave a slightly different picture. According to this, the dead have a path into our world by each of the cardinal directions. But the dead never used those on the north or east, only the south and west roads. The latter roads lead along the ground; the first two through the air. But "the dead hardly ever take a person through the air." These south and west roads "lead to [are?] the forked road" described above.

The aged woman was described by Josepha Juan who saw her in dreams. (Josepha, an Halchidhoma, is herself constantly grieving.) This crone dipped her finger into boiled mesquite bark and marked her cheeks with it. She mourned every day. Her tears washed the marks off, so that she continually repeated her action. The stuff was deposited on her breast by her tears. It was so thick that one could thrust a whole finger into it. Under the shade, she kept watermelons. When a dead person (? a soul) arrived, she said, "Eat some for your hunger and go on."

Participating in the life of the dead was hazardous in the extreme for any living soul. "A person dreams he is in the land of the dead. If he eats anything given him there, he gets sick. A person might dream of this repeatedly, join in the games there, and thinking it fun, dream of it every night. Such a person would faint": his soul would be lost and he would die. [787]

There were many people in the land of the dead. "It has become so crowded that they keep on pushing this way [east], until their village extends even west of these mountains." Here is a

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

time he comes to life he does not go to a new place to live. I never heard that when they come to life they become young again. 775

Even modern features were incorporated in their conception of this land. One woman saw a schoolhouse there: she heard its bell. She went to her mother's home there. They told her her children went to school. When she woke, she found everything so lonesome here. There are some white men there, according to Kutox.[46] 777 775

A woman was reported as having dreamed of being taken to the top of a mountain, but it was nothing but a hill. A half-sister, who had been dead some time, told her that she should go with her. All their relatives were over there and she (the human) would play the dice game. The dead woman wanted her to join the crowd of dead playing that game. She told her everything was nice there, with everybody present except those left behind, those who had been buried not cremated. The dead say they cannot take in those who are buried, because they smell too badly. Those who were buried live on the north side of the land of the dead. They wander all the time carrying boxes (coffins) on their heads, looking for shades to live under. When they tire, they lay them down and sit on them. The dead think this appalling. The woman who told this died a year after her dream. 787 775

There was no belief of the rebirth of ordinary dead in our world, but twins and deformed persons were reborn. They were believed to come from a village of their own, an adjunct of the village of the dead lying to the northwest. Some of the deformed there were without arms, others without noses or mouths; some had an eye in the middle of the forehead. These persons, deformed and twins alike, were born in our world only as visitors. "They say, 'We want to go on a long journey' and they leave there. When others there miss them, they say 'They have gone somewhere to rest under a shade.' These wanderers are born here as deformed babies." This was infrequent "because people do not leave their homes casually." When twins and deformed people died, they returned to their village, not to the land of the dead, until they were reborn. If they were mistreated here they would not stay, but go back where they came from.[47] 775 845

[46] When I was leaving at the end of my field trip, Kutox told me that he would be dead before I returned. But I should probably meet him in the land of the dead, for "you are a good white man." If I found my notes insufficient, he would be glad to help me again there. I was to look for a young handsome man. [123]

[47] An instance of the birth of a tiny, delicate baby believed to be one of these, and their reactions to it, is cited in the section on "Birth," p. 314.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

The sex of the child could be predicted: for a boy the pains followed rapidly and were sharper than for a girl. They say that when a woman had borne only sons or daughters and at last one of the opposite sex was born, it would be her last child. An extension of the idea was cited: when the youngest child of I—— walked at an early age, although her elder children had been slow in learning to walk, they said it would be her last child.

Whether one would have a child at all was forecast by a dream. A man or woman might dream of gathering little birds or puppies, of being fond of them. This was an omen that they would have children. Other dreams were interpreted as signs that they would have no children.

Twins and deformed infants, unlike ordinary children, were thought to be reborn. They were in this world merely as visitors, hence if they were mistreated they would return to their home. Their village was believed to lie to the northwest beyond the Hassayampa Mountains. Some of its inhabitants were without arms or mouths or noses; some had a single eye in the middle of their foreheads; others were twins. These people would say, "We want to go on a long journey," and would wander into this world to be born. When their fellows missed them, they would say, "They have gone somewhere to rest under a shade." Their advent was infrequent because people do not leave their homes casually. When twins and deformed persons died, they returned to this village, not to the land of the dead, until they were reborn. It was considered lucky for a mother to have twins.

No physiological reason was assigned for twinning. On the other hand, an albino (hiʔa'hwa't, "red eyes") was thought the result of the pregnant mother having eaten something gnawed by a gopher, such as mesquite beans. Albinos were reported to have a reddish iris and be unable to see well in the sunlight, but to have normally pigmented skin and hair.

Twins were both reared, although this was difficult. They were more likely to die than other children. When one sickened or died, the other would also. It was thought that when one died, it had not been well treated, had not been taken up when it cried. The sympathetic bond may well have been thought to

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Yuma

539[x] The little boy said, "We have no home of our own and we can not wander together like this. It would make us feel badly to think we had no home. Let us part in such a way that I will know where you are, and you will know I am somewhere else." 539[x] 787 821 Now, the little boy was going to change himself into a comet, but he said he was not going to be seen often; only at times when a well-known person was about to die. He said he would also appear when there was going to be sickness all over the world. "Humans shall see this omen, a red streak across the northern heavens, and they will know there will be sickness." Then the old woman said she was going to change herself into the bright morning star. "Since I am an old woman, when an old person is dying, they will say he will be dead when the first morning star [763] appears." (When an old person is dying, he always says, "I am not going to die until the morning star appears.") So the two transformed themselves into these stars. So the morning star is the old woman and the comet is the little boy (kwiya'homar[a]).[a]

THE DOG CHAMPION

When the Halchidhoma lived on the Colorado, the Yuma came to fight. The Halchidhoma lived in various villages. The Yuma attacked one of these villages and killed all the men. So all the survivors moved. They did not cremate the dead because there were too many, so they just piled them up, where they dried. The skulls lay piled up.

The survivors were scattered all through the mountains. What they had planted, the Yuma took. The Yuma moved up to the place they had been living.

A Yuma man passed by the pile of skulls. A skull said, "Hot," meaning it was hot and thirsty; it said it wanted to get under the shade. It said:

[a] Possibly from kwiyu'c, "meteor" and yuma'x[a], "child, boy," although the informant made it clear that he is identified with a comet (xĕmcxaaδel'p), not a meteor. Du Bois notes: "The Diegueño identified the being whose name on earth was Cuyahomarr, the wonder-working boy, and whose name in the sky is Chaup or Shiwiv, with the large meteoric fire-ball which is his physical manifestation. . . . . It is said that the Indians believe that if he casts the shadow of a man on the ground in his passage overhead, the man will soon die" (*Religion of Luiseño*, p. 115).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

because everything had been burned. He was told where to find his friend. When he entered the house where his friend lay, the tanager looked up at him. When he saw who it was, he jumped up. They went arm in arm the whole day, not saying a word to each other. Late in the evening they built a big fire. He told them how he had disappeared. Then their wives rushed in and interfered so they had to take mesquite bark and tie up the door. At last they found out it was the scheme of Coyote, so they chased him away. Then they got their wives back again. 539x

For that reason, anybody who dreams of the tanager or blackbird is always after girls. A person who dreams of the coyote will interfere in someone else's love affairs, and then will loose the girl or his wife, and pretend not to care, but sometime later he will make trouble. [787] [825]

BROTHER-SLAYER[42]

The story begins with the brothers living with the old people. One was a giant, named ɣavâtca'c mŏkĥl,âpu'k (meaning man of ɣavâtca'c who wiggles because he is tall). Another was married. They started across the Colorado. They stopped in a line standing in a shallow place. As they reached down to get water in their palms, some spilled. One brother did not take a palmful for himself, but caught the water his brother's wife spilled. So through jealousy, the brothers separated and began to fight.

A blind man was one of the enemy. They had a huge house filled with men. One of them was a good fighter. He killed all the enemies about his home. He even went among his own people, killing them. He killed his older brother, too. His name was matgwĭnâpa' [no meaning]. His father, named djio'tĭc, was married again and lived some distance away from the village. It was the children of this couple he killed. This family lived in a cave. They had a younger son, who said he would start off to see if he could not kill some of the enemy. They said, "No, you must stay home. You are only a young boy and your half-brother [Matgwĭnâpa'] is older than you." This boy could fly in the air. He came over and killed some of the men in the village. They would always try to shoot him when he came over to the village, but they could not.

[42] Told by Kutox, who professed not to know it well. [115]

/83 cont./

765 baskets of grain on their heads. In passing around the third time, the women throw the grain upon the pyre. The fire is then kindled, and everyone wails as long as it continues to burn.

756 The medicine-men, like those of other Yuman tribes,
[787] claim, and fully believe, that through dreams they have acquired the divine gift of healing disease. In their treatment of
755 a patient two eagle feathers are held in the right hand and a gourd rattle in the left. The feathers are waved over the body to drive the evil from the head to the feet, for sickness is believed to pervade the whole body, not merely a portion of it. Alternating with the feathers the rattle is used to accompany the singing. While waving the feathers the medicine-man blows across the patient's body, to drive away the evil spirits. At
[533] intervals he recounts in a falsetto chant the story of the dreams through which he received his power. The songs last all night, and the treatment usually continues for four nights, but may be shortened if the patient recovers, or extended if the case de-
787 mands it. The Maricopa attach much the same importance to dreams as do the Mohave. So great is their faith in the revelations derived from them that to wish a friend "good luck" in the Maricopa language one must say /84/ "good dreams"—
756 sumashnhót. An exemplification of the nature of the supernatural
787 instruction claimed by the doctors is given in the following narra-
159 tion of the head medicine-man of the Maricopa:

"One night when I was a boy about five years of age, Tinyám, the Darkness, came to me in the form of a man, and said, 'Go see!' I went to the north and there saw a great many people. Darkness showed me the whole earth and the names of the different mountains. Then Buzzard came for me. He took me straight down to where the animal people were, and called to them, 'Look at this boy and have a good feeling for him; give him dreams, that he may cure the sick and make his people well.' So every kind of bird gave me a dream and strength. Kapít, the Turtle, sat down beside a sick man and breathed upon him. Soon the sick man began to breathe regularly. Then Kapít told me to try this, and I did as he had done. When the animal people saw this, they wept for joy; and Buzzard said, 'That will be enough here; I shall take you to another place.'

/84 cont./

159
756
787

"So he took me a little way and told me to look at a distant house in which lived Little Cricket. When we came to the house, Haylin, the Cricket, was in bed. Buzzard awakened him, saying, 'Cricket, look at this little boy; give him some dreams and show him how to heal sick people.' 'Good!' exclaimed Haylin; 'bring him in and I shall show him how I cure.' We entered, and Cricket said, 'Now, Boy, it is night, but you see that my house is light. You are the only person who has come to my home, and I am glad to welcome you. I shall show you how to heal the sick.' As he sat there it was light as day, because of his eagle feathers. He stroked his own body and then mine with the feathers, thus imparting his power to me. And Buzzard said it was well. 'Now,' said Cricket, 'I have given you my strength, which you are to use. When a sick man is lying down, use these feathers as I have shown you, and there will be light on the sick man and not the darkness of disease. You will see the sickness and drive it away.'

/85/ "Buzzard then took me to a mountain, saying, 'Qastamhalikus, the Little Lizard, lives here, and he also will give you power. You cannot see him now, but when we enter his house you will see a famous man of great power.' He led me in, and I saw Lizard. 'Look at this boy,' said Buzzard, 'and give him medicine power. Give him no evil power, only good, as many others have done.' 'Very well,' said Lizard, 'he is a fine boy and I shall do as you ask.' So saying, he made an image of a sick man and laid it down. There we three sat, I beside Lizard, looking at the image while Lizard was using his power. Then he said, 'You try to do this.' So I sat down and did the same as he had done, and when I had finished, he put the feathers on my hand, giving it the power of the feathers.

"Next we went down to the ocean, where we found Hailkotat, a sea monster. I looked at the creature, but I did not know him. Hailkotat said, 'You are a good boy. This is the first time anyone has come here, and for your bravery I shall reward you with my power.' 'You must give him only good power,' said Buzzard. Then Hailkotat took his feathers, blew upon my body and gave me his strength. When he had finished, he said, 'Now,

/85 cont./

159 Boy, you must never do evil things; use this power well.' 'What
756 can he do with a sick person?' asked Buzzard. 'He will heal
287 various diseases, for I shall give him strength of two kinds.'
He blew upon my body from the middle to the head and from the middle to the feet, thus giving both kinds of power for curing all illness. Buzzard then took me to my home, and my parents knew not of my absence. They thought I had been sleeping in my bed. But my body only was in bed while my spirit was making these journeys. I kept these things to myself, and when I grew older and saw a man dying of sickness with no one to help him, I thought it time to use my medicine power. Everybody knew then that I was a medicine-man."

/86/ Creation Myth

The Earth was the mother and the Sky the father. Two
773 children, yet unborn, moved westward under the earth, seeking the place whence they were to issue, but they did not find it. Then they moved east, south, and north, and at last found the place. The first to be born was Thoshipá. Kokomát soon followed, first having called to the other to know if he had come out with his eyes open or shut. "With my eyes open," answered Thoshipá falsely. So Kokomát came forth with his eyes open, and the salt water running into them made him blind; for the earth was then covered with water.

As soon as they were born, they began to sing of what they were to do. Thoshipá cut the hair from his temples and twisted a little rope, which he laid before him; immediately the water dried up, leaving a vast expanse of mud, so the creator made ants, which bored holes and brought up dry earth. Then the two brothers decided it was time to make human beings. Said Kokomát, "We will stand back to back, I to the west and you to the east, and make men." So they did. After a while Thoshipá asked, "In what form are you creating men?" When Kokomát exhibited his creatures, Thoshipá discovered that they had webbed hands and other deformities, and he objected. "Men must not have webbed hands," said he, "for they will need fingers to point with and to